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Selections.

SLAVE TRADE IN THE DISTRICT.

Mr. Greeley's remarks in Defence of Mr Gott's Resolution, (Suppressed).

[Throughout the whole discussion on Wednesday, Mr. GREELEY struggled at every opportunity for the floor, and at first was awarded it, but the Speaker, on reflection decided that it belonged to Mr. WENTWORTH, of Illinois, who had made a previous motion. Had Mr. G. obtained the floor at any time, it was his intention to have spoken substantially as follows—the first paragraph being suggested by Mr. SAWYER's Speech, and of course only meditated after that Speech was delivered.]

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SAWYER] complains of the waste of the precious time of this House on discussions relative to Slavery, Negroes, &c. in which his constituents feel no interest. Well, Sir, whose fault is it? When this proposition came before us, the Previous Question was moved by its author and the resolution passed without debate—all finished in an hour. Thus it would have remained, had not a friend of the gentleman [Mr. STUART, of Michigan] moved a reconsideration, which has been sustained throughout by the vote of the gentleman from Ohio, and by this procedure the time of the House has been wasted—not by the friends of this resolution. Just so on Monday, when we settled the Pacheco Slave case, so that it would have stayed settled had not *the gentleman himself* [Mr. SAWYER] moved a reconsideration, which probably involves the consumption of one or two more days. Does it become him or his friends to lecture us on the waste of time on Negro propositions?

Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us [Mr. GOTT's] has been assailed as incendiary, abusive, insulting to the South, &c. &c. but no man has shown wherein it is subject to such censures, nor wherefore it should be so regarded. Its ascribed demerits have been uniformly taken for granted. I propose to pursue a different course. Warned by the gentleman from Georgia [Gen. HARRALSON] who moved a call of the House on its introduction, that its adoption would be a serious matter, and might be followed by the gravest consequences, I have carefully reconsidered that resolution for myself, and my earnest conclusion is that it should be adhered to by the House. To the reasons for that conclusion I now ask a patient attention.

I am not insensible, Mr. Speaker, to the jar which any such action of this House on the subject of Slavery may seem to give to the most precious of political relations. I know that any action here adverse to Slavery is regarded by many as periling the union of these States, and has a real tendency, which I feel more profoundly, to shake if not shiver those bonds of union founded on a community of sentiment on great public questions in which most of us are connected with one or the other of the two great parties which nearly divide the American people. I keenly feel, I deeply regret, the necessity imposed on me of giving any vote by which my political brethren in any part of this Union shall be annoyed or exposed to prejudice and injury. I will do whatever I fairly and faithfully may to avert such a misfortune.

But, Mr. Speaker, I have, on full reflection, decided that there can be no course so fair, no basis of union so just, as that which, enjoining us to act together on those points wherein we are agreed, shall leave us perfectly free to act on our diverse convictions with respect to those questions on which we honestly and gravely differ. A great poet makes his hero say to the friend whom Fate and Jealousy and a dark ambition were gradually estranging from him, "O, between us be Truth!" And, Sir, I say here, to all sides and all parts of this hall, "Between us be Truth!" There is no cement, no security, like that, Speak to me the naked Truth, my brother, my friend—If I cannot bear that, the fault and the shame are mine, not yours. Union on any other basis than that of perfect freedom and mutual Truth is a receding mirage—a vain delusion—an unreal mockery. Whenever we, as Americans or as members of a great party, shall feel constrained to dissemble and suppress our convictions—to hide our thoughts and our real views from each other behind fig-leaves of complaisance and smooth insincerity—then the vital union will have been already dissolved.

The motion to reconsider now pending has for its avowed object the striking out of the Preamble and the dilution of the proposition which it prefaces.—Let us read them:

"*Whereas*, The traffic now prosecuted in this metropolis of the Republic in human beings as chattels is contrary to natural justice and the fundamental principles of our political system, and is notoriously a reproach to our country throughout Christendom, and a serious hindrance to the progress of Republican Liberty among the Nations of the earth: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be instructed to report, as soon as practicable, a bill prohibiting the Slave Trade in said District.

I propose, Mr. Speaker, to demonstrate that every proposition embodied in this obnoxious Preamble is strictly and literally true, and to rely mainly for my proof on the testimony of Slaveholders and advocates of Slavery. I shall not undertake to try and judge this Slave Trade by the moral code of its natural adversaries, but by that of its friends.

1. The first clause of the Preamble affirms that the Slave Trade is "contrary to natural justice."

We have already been told by the gentleman from Maryland that this traffic, in the latitude it here enjoys, is forbidden by the laws of Maryland, Virginia, and other Slave States. But for its cession to the Federal Government, it would to-day be unlawful—would have been at any time these fifty years—to bring slaves hither for sale from any part of the Union, except the single State of Maryland. It is only by the act of cession to this Federal Government that the Slave Trade has obtained such a scope and power here—that Washington has become a slave-mart, and the advertisements of her slave-traders of "Cash for negroes" been diffused through the journals of Virginia. Maryland forbids the sending of a slave from this district into her territory for sale—so does Virginia—so do other slave States—and nobody is aggrieved, the Union is not endangered—but we propose to reciprocate these restrictions and are warned to forbear—the South is wronged, outraged, insulted beyond endurance! How is this? "Dost thou well to be angry?"

But this is not the first effort on this subject. As early as 1816, John Randolph, of Virginia—an extensive and determined slaveholder—moved the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of *inhuman and illegal traffic in Slaves*, carried on in and through the District of Columbia and to report whether any and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same."

"*Illegal and inhuman* traffic," sir! The Preamble now pronounced insulting and incendiary says nothing half so severe as that. And Mr. Randolph, in moving the inquiry, pronounced this trade 'heinous and abominable,' and declared his intention personally, if need were, to 'ferret out of their holes and corners *the villians who carried it on*.' The Preamble before us is very tame compared to this. And the trade in slaves was perfectly legal all the time—and as sacred and 'peculiar,' as it now is.

And this language of Mr. Randolph brings to mind another argument for the correctness of this Preamble—namely, that the slave-trader is spurned and despised by the staunchest champions of Slavery. The Northern man who talks of Slavery with a Southern friend is almost always told by the latter that *he* never separates families—that he never sells a servant except for some grievous fault, or else to place him with a family one of whose servants he has married. Even in New Orleans itself, the very metropolis of American Slavery, the slave-trader is loathed and avoided. The slaveholder trades with him, uses him, but does not associate with him.—Can we doubt the meaning of this?

—I have before me a Memorial from the citizens of this District, presented to this House in 1828, signed by over one thousand citizens, among whom I recognize the names of several most respectable citizens, including the present District Judge (Cranch) and an eminent Mayor (Van Ness) now deceased, which Memorial prays Congress to abolish this traffic in such terms as the following:

"We the undersigned, citizens of the District of Columbia, beg leave to call the attention of your honourable body to an evil of appalling magnitude, which greatly impairs the prosperity and happiness of this District, and *casts the reproach of inconsistency upon the Free institutions established among us*. [See III].

"While the laws of the United States denounces the Foreign Slave-Trade as Piracy, and punish with death those who are found engaged in its perpetration, there exists in this District, the seat of the National Government, a domestic Slave-Trade *scarcely less disgraceful in its character and even more demoralising in its tendency*.

"For this is not, like the former, carried on against a barbarous nation: Its victims are reared up among the people of this country, educated in the precepts of the same religion, and imbued with similar domestic attachments.

"These people are, without their consent, torn from their homes; husband and wife frequently separated and sold into distant parts; children are taken from their parents, without regard to the ties of Nature, and the most endearing bonds of affection are broken for ever.

"Nor is this traffic confided to those who are legally slaves for life. Some who are entitled to freedom, and many who have a limited time to serve, are sold into unconditional Slavery; and, owing to the defectiveness of our laws, they are generally carried out of our District before the necessary steps can be taken for their release."

The Memorial goes on to set forth that coloured persons of whom nothing is known are here apprehended on suspicion of being Slaves, and are cast into prison; where, if nobody offers to claim them within due time, and they are destitute of means or powerful friends, they are sold as slaves *to pay the expenses of their incarceration!* And a flagrant instance of this sale of a freeman to a slaveholder is set forth by them. But I cannot farther follow this revolting narration. Bear in mind that this is an appeal from the people of this Slaveholding District to Congress, and that it characterizes this traffic in terms of opprobrium much stronger than those of the Preamble now before us.

There is a Memorial on your files from a Grand Jury of this city, which I believe is equally pungent and thorough on this subject. But Congress thus appealed to by slaveholding communities and even by a slaveholding Member, has thus far done nothing. Is it not high time that it should act? I am informed that the Corporation of this city has endeavoured to tax the Slave-Trade proper out of its border, but the U. S. Courts interposed and decided that it had no authority to do so until directly empowered by Congress. Here rests the power and the responsibility.

I might quote from Jefferson and other eminent Slaveholders the most pointed condemnation of this traffic, but I prefer to call your attention to a recent and authoritative decision of the great Doctors of Theology at Teheran, the capital of Persia, a slaveholding and slaveselling country since long before the dawn of civilization in Europe, to say nothing of America. These Cardinals of the Persian State Church were recently required, on the application of a British Envoy for the Suppression of the Slave-Trade, to give the King an authoritative opinion on the lawfulness of that traffic and also of its suppression, and they gave separate answers, concurring generally in this:

"Decree. In the name of the Great God: trading in and buying and selling slaves is not unlawful, but *is an abomination*, as is stated in the tradition, 'the worst of men is the seller of men,' which is attributable to its baseness." (Sealed by Moollah Ali Kenne.)

O that *our* Doctors of Divinity were all so humanely honest! Of like import is the recent rescript of the Sultan of Turkey, himself an extensive slaveholder and the head of a race which has been slaveholding ever since it became known to the civilized world. I have it not before me, but it declares that "For the honour of Human Nature," and that men may be regarded above the brute creation, the Slave-Trade in that empire is hereby abolished.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, Slave States, slaveholders, Slave Empires, abolish this traffic in human beings as abhorrent and abominable, and state the true and manly reasons for it; we alone are forbidden to give utterance to our convictions on peril of National dissolution. The year just closed has witnessed the abolition of Slavery in the Danish and the French West Indies; Persia and Turkey abolish the Slave-Trade; we alone cherish both Slavery and the Slave-Trade where they exist and debate the policy of extending them to vast regions whence they were long since extirpated. Ought we to rest satisfied with the contrast?

II. But this Preamble affirms that Slavery is also 'opposed to the fundamental principles of our Political institutions.'

Can there be any need of arguing this point? Is not the bare statement sufficient? Liberty and Equality on one side; Slavery and manselling on the other, who does not feel that they are irreconcileable? Who does not remember the ingenuity displayed last Winter in the other wing of this capitol by the great champion of Slavery to prove the basis of the Declaration of Independence a fallacy—that men were not 'born free and equal'—indeed, that *men* were not born at all! On this branch of the argument, it cannot be necessary to expatiate.

III. But this traffic is also affirmed to be a reproach to our country throughout Christendom.

Who that is at all familiar with the Literature of the day does not know this? Recall the caustic correspondence between our former Embassador to London, (Mr. Stevenson) and the Irish Patriot O'Connell. Remember what has been our most stinging (becuuse true) reproach by all our British revilers, from Ashe and Moore to Dickens and Hamilton. I shall not quote from this class of writers, but rather ask your attention to brief extracts from our two most able and eloquent eulogists. And first of the large-minded, appreciating DE TOCQUEVILLE, who exhibits all the difficulties of the Slave Question, and through a very thorough discussion, leans almost everywhere to the views of the perpetuators of Slavery. Yet on this point of Slave-selling he says:

I happened to meet with an old man who had had several children by one of his own slaves, which children were of course slaves also. He had indeed frequently thought of bequeathing to them at least their liberty, but years had elapsed without his being able to surmount the legal obstacles to their emancipation, and in the meantime his old age was come, and he was about to die. He pictured to himself his sons dragged from market to market, and passing from the authority of a parent to the rod of a stranger, until these horrid anticipations wrought his brain into a frenzy. When I saw him, he was a prey to all the anguish of despair, and he made me feel how awful is the retribution of Nature upon those who have broken her laws.—*De Tocqueville, Vol. II.*

The other extract, to which I will ask your attention, is from the intelligent and sagacious VON RAUMER, who says:

It is not a mere incidental contradiction—it remains a substantial stumbling-block—a grating, unresolved discord—that slaves in Washington, as they are dragged away by the dealers in human flesh, should chaunt in piteous mockery, "Hail Columbia, happy land!"—that the District of Columbia, the seat of the noblest and greatest of Republican Governments, should be condemned to remain a grand slave-mart to all future time.

Mr. Speaker, I hope Von Raumer was mistaken on this last point. Our votes to-day may determine.

IV. The Preamble closes with the averment that this Slave Trade is "a serious hindrance to the progress of Republican Liberty throughout the world."

I will not dwell on this point. What I have already offered must surely be sufficient. The one answer of the Aristocratic journalism of Europe, whether through the "leaders" of *The Times*, the pictorial satires of "*Punch*" or otherwise, to our triumphant demonstration of the blessings of Self-Government is the exhibition of our Slavery and Slave-Trade. The Toiling Millions of Europe are confounded and repelled by the spectacle of a Model Republic which sells husbands from their wives and children from their mothers. How can Labour be honoured where a good labourer can be bought for a thousand dollars? Until this Traffic is abolished it will be our shame throughout the earth, and an obstacle to the march of oppressed nations to Freedom.

—Mr. Speaker, it may be that this House is prepared to recede from the noble stand taken in the passage of my colleague's resolution. I hope not, yet it may be so. Some of our votes recently taken look like it. But do not believe, though this House should be thus recreant, that the country will imitate its example. No, sir, the deeper our abasement, the higher will rise the spirit of the People. You cannot blot out the record of your original declaration—your falling away from it will but render that hour of manly purpose more precious and memorable. Do what you may, there will remain an everlasting remembrance that there was once a House that dared be faithful to Truth, Humanity, and Freedom.

"Not Heaven itself upon the Past hath power,
But what hath been hath been."

We have planted a blazing beacon upon the very watchtower of the temple of Liberty, and its radiance shall show most clearly any unfaithfulness on our part in the Present or Future. The strong tide of popular conviction which bore this House onward and upward to the declaration now reconsidered is still rising; the next wave, as it foams across this Hall, may not reach so far as the last; but "soon the whole sea will be there and beyond it." O be wisely firm, then, and dread nothing but a sacrifice of Truth to Fear, of Principle to Ease, of Duty to a weak and culpable compliance. Such an hour may come to each of us but once in a lifetime—let it not find us timid or unworthy. For one, I am ready!—*Tribune.*

From the Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil

THE SLAVE QUESTION.

DEAR SIR:—The great question of the day is that of Slavery, its extension or its limitation, its perpetuation or its extinction. It seems likely to swallow up all others. Whigs abandon the party with which for years they have acted, and vote for "Free Soil" candidates to whom, as Democrats, they have always been opposed; while Democrats vote for Whig candidates, in hope to find in them the men least likely to sanction inteference with their rights of property; and yet, of all who talk so loudly and sometimes act so strangely, scarcely a single one seems disposed calmly to examine the subject with a view to ascertain what are the effects likely to be produced by the measures they advocate, upon the condition, physical, moral, intellectual, and political, of the objects of their solicitude.

How shall we free ourselves from the curse of Slavery? Such is the question that now stands foremost for consideration throughout a majority of the States south of Mason & Dixon's line. Throughout the Union, all desire to see by what means the nation shall be freed therefrom, and the question has been repeated times without number in every State, without having ever as yet, to my knowledge, produced a satisfactory reply. The Abolitionist answers by a refusal to eat the sugar of Louisiana or wear the cotton of Georgia, preferring to feed and clothe himself by aid of the labour of the Hindoo, who nominally free, labours a whole month for two rupees—about one dollar—and dies of the pestilence that follows the famine resulting from the excessive poverty produced by taxation; and to that he is subjected for the support of armies that are kept on foot for the purpose of compelling him to give to the collector of *rents* half or two-thirds of all the miserable product of labour employed in the cultivation of high and poor lands, while surrounded by low and rich ones that have relapsed into a *jungle*, because of his inability to continue the system of drainage established before India had become the prey of European conquerors. If, happily, he survives the famine and the pestilence, he sells himself for a term of years, to be transported to Demerara or Jamaica, there to perform the labour of a slave, and to endure treatment similar to that to which was due the disgraceful fact, that the slaves liberated at the period of emancipation were fewer in number than had been imported, whereas, from the superior treatment of American slaves, the three or four hundred thousand barbarians that were imported, are now represented by three or four millions of comparatively civilized men.

The Abolitionist refuses to consume slave-grown cotton, because he thinks that while his labour is so valuable the slave can never be free, and that by diminishing the market for the product of his labour, he himself will become less valuable to his owner, and that thereby will be produced in the latter a disposition to set his bondsman free. In this opinion he does not stand alone. It may be found in every English journal. The people of England would supersede the use of the sugar of Cuba and Brazil, and the cotton of America, substituting the product of the half-starved and wretched Hindoo for that of the well-fed labourer of Georgia and Alabama, with a view to diminish the value of the slave, and thus facilitate his emancipation. It is held to be impossible that men should become free while worth six or eight hundred dollars each, but they will certainly become so, if their labour can be rendered so valueless that they themselves will become a burden to their owners. Such is the almost universal impression; and having found it recently in a letter addressed by you to the Rev. Mr. Danforth, I avail myself of the opportunity to examine how far it is correct, believing it can be shown that while it is one which tends greatly to maintain the existing alienation between the people of the Northern and Southern portions of the Union, and is, therefore injurious, it is not less erroneous, and will not stand examination.

Your views of this subject are thus given: "It [Slavery] may be abolished in all of them when slave labour ceases to be profitable; when labour in the cotton growing States is of no more value than it is in many parts of Europe. No one would accept a slave, white or black, in Ireland.

As nothing in this world can remain stationary, the value of labour must either increase or diminish—i. e. it must become either more productive of the commodities required for the convenience and comfort of man, or it becomes less so. In one of these directions lies Freedom. In the other, continued Slavery. If the almost universal view, which you have thus expressed, is correct, every one who desires that all men may become free should unite in the effort to diminish the productiveness and consequent value of slave labour, thereby impoverishing the slave and his owner, and the necessary consequence of such an effort must be increasing hostility between the North and the South. If, on the contrary, it is incorrect, and if Freedom be likely to follow naturally from an increase in the productiveness, and consequent value of slave labour then every man, North, South, East and West, should be disposed to unite with his fellow man in the effort to promote that increase of value, thereby enriching the master while improving the condition of his bondsmen, the necessary consequence of which must be increasing harmony between the various sections of the Union.

One of these views is true, and the other is false. The great mass of the community believe, with you, that truth is to be found in the first; but I believe that it will not be difficult to show that it must be sought for in the last, and it is with a view to show, as I think conclusively, that such is the case, that I address you this letter, well convinced that you would rejoice to be satisfied that the course towards freedom lies in the direction of measures tending to enhance the value of the negro, and that those who would follow in it must adopt a policy directly the opposite of that which has ruined Ireland, impoverished the land and its owner, and rendered the Irishman a burden from which his *owner*—for such he is—is glad to free himself by aid of wholesome clearances, by evictions from lands which the poor tenant has himself reclaimed, and by the destructions of tenaments which the poor occupants themselves have built; careless whether their unfortunate late inhabitants perish in the immediate neighbourhood, die of starvation in the wretched cellars of Liverpool, fall a prey to ship fever on the passage to Canada, or freeze to death on the inhospitable shores of the St. Lawrence.

Throughout the world, and in all ages, Freedom has advanced with every increase in the ratio of wealth to population. When the people of England were poor, they were enslaved, but with growing wealth they have become more free. So has it been in Belgium and in France. So is it now in Russia and Germany, and so must it everywhere be. India is poor, and the many are slaves to the few. So is it in Ireland. Freedom is there unknown.—The poor Irishman, limitted to the labours of agriculture, desires a bit of land, and he gives the chief part of the product of his year's labour for permission to starve upon the balance, happy to be permitted to remain on payment of this enormous rent. And the slave of the land owner, without even the slave's right to claim of him support in case of sickness, or if escaping from famine, he should survive to an age that deprives him of the power of labouring for his support. England employs fleets, paid for out of taxes imposed on starving Irishmen, to prevent the people of Brazil from *buying* black men, and women, and children, on the coast of Africa, while holding herself ready to *give* white men, and women, and children, to any who will carry them from her shores, and even to add thereto a portion of the cost of their transportation; and this she does without requiring the transporter to produce even the slightest evidence that they have been delivered at their destined port in "good order and well-conditioned." When Ireland shall become rich, labour will become valuable, and man will become free. When Italy was filled with prosperous communities, labour was productive, and it was in demand; and then men who had it to sell fixed the price at which it should be sold. With growing poverty, labour ceased to be in demand, and the buyer fixed the price. The labourer then became a slave. If we follow the history of Tuscany, we can find men becoming enslaved as poverty succeeded wealth; and again may we trace them becoming more and free, as wealth has grown with continued peace. So has it been in Egypt, and Sicily, and Spain. Everywhere poverty, or a deficiency of those aids to labour which constitute wealth is, and has invariably been, the companion of Slavery, and everywhere wealth, or abundance of ploughs, and harrows, and horses, and cows, and oxen, and cultivated lands, and houses and mills, is, and has as invariably been, the companion, and the cause of Freedom.

Wealth tends to grow more rapidly than population, because better soils are brought into cultivation; and it does grow more rapidly whenever people abandon swords and muskets and take to spades and ploughs. Every increase in the ratio of wealth to population is attended with an increase in the power of the labourer as compared with that of landed or other capital. We all see that when ships are more abundant than passengers, the price of passage is low, and that, on the contrary, when passengers are more abundant than ships, the price is high.—When ploughs and harrows and horses are more plenty than ploughmen, the latter fix the wages, but when ploughmen are more abundant than ploughs, the owner of the latter determine the distribution of the product of labour. When wealth increases rapidly, new soils are brought into cultivation, and more ploughmen are wanted. The demand for ploughs produces a demand for more men to mine coal and melt iron ore, and the iron master becomes a competitor for the employment of the labourer, who obtains a large proportion of the constantly increasing return to labour. He wants clothes in greater abundance, and the manufacturers becomes a competitor with the iron master and the farmer for his service. His proportion is again increased, and he wants sugar, and tea, and coffee, and how the ship master competes with the manufacturer, the iron master, and the farmer; and thus with the growth of population and wealth there is produced a constantly increasing demand for labour; and its increased productiveness, and the consequently increased facility of accumulating wealth, are followed necessarily and certainly by an increase of the labourer's proportion. His wages rise, and the proportion of the capitalist falls, yet now the latter accumulates fortune more rapidly than ever, and thus his interest and that of the labourer are in perfect harmony with each other. If we desire evidence of this, it is shown in the constantly increasing amount of the rental of England, derived from the appropriation of a constantly decreasing proportion of the product of the land; and in the enormous amount of railroad tolls compared with those of the turnpike; yet the railroad transports the farmer's wheat to market, and bring back sugar and coffee, taking not one fourth as large a *proportion* for doing the business as was claimed by the owner of the wagon and horses, and him of the turnpike. The labourer's product is increased, and the proportion that goes to the capitalist is increased. The power of the first over the product of his labour has grown, while that of the latter has diminished.

Such having been, and such being now, the case in all countries of the world, it would certainly seem probable that it would be so with the negro, and that if we would desire that he should acquire that complete control over his actions, and over the fruits of his labour, which constitutes Freedom, we should seek to pursue that course which must tend most to the augmentation of wealth, and consequently to the increase of the value of the slave to his master, because of the increased productiveness of his labour. In confirmation of this view, we may see that throughout this country the amount of freedom is everywhere in the ratio of wealth to population, i. e., in the ratio which the machinery of production seeking labour for its employment, bears to the labour seeking to be employed. The man of Massachusetts—and still more, the woman—enjoys a greater amount of freedom than the man or woman of Pennsylvania, and the latter are far more free than their neighbours of Virginia, although all equally free in the eye of the law. The negro is more free in the rapidly growing Georgia and Tennessee, than in decaying Virginia and South Carolina. It cannot be otherwise. When wealth grows rapidly, the demand for labour increases more rapidly than the number of labourers, and thus is produced a tendency to the adoption of labour saving machinery, by which the exertion of man is rendered more productive.—With each step in this progress the value of the labourer rises, and with each he acquires more control over the application of his labour and its proceeds, being better fed, better clothed, better lodged and better taught; and thus every increase in the price of the slave is evidence that the day is approaching when labourers will determine for themselves to whom they will sell their labour, and what shall be its price.

If this view is correct, and it is in accordance with the experience of all ages and all nations, it would appear obvious that those who desire the emancipation of the slave, should desire to coöperate in the measures that would tend most rapidly to augment the wealth of the Southern States, and to oppose all measures tending in the opposite direction, and that such is the true Anti-Slavery policy I entertain no doubt. How is it to be done? To this question we may, I think, obtain an answer, by looking to those portions of the South in which wealth is now increasing most rapidly, to wit: Georgia and Tennessee, whose policy has tended most to the introduction of the machinery of manufacture, and contrasting their condition with Virginia and South Carolina, whose policy has tended most to the limitation of the efforts of the people by the single pursuit of agriculture. The former have obtained cotton and woollen machinery, and furnaces and forges, by aid of which there has been created a demand for a vast amount of labour that would otherwise have been wasted, and the necessary effect of this has been an increase in the value of the property of the man who had labour to sell, i. e. the owner of slaves, and he has grown rich while the condition of his people has steadily improved, whereas South Carolina has driven capital abroad in search of employment,* and her people are now flying from their plantations, frequently abandoning them absolutely because of inability to obtain purchasers at any price whatever.

When men are limited to the single pursuit of agriculture they are necessarily poor, and they must become poorer every day, and with each step in this progress those who labour become more and more subject to the will of those who do not. In such a state of things, the men can earn little, because there is no demand for the labour that is not required in the field, and the women and children are idle from want of any demand whatsoever for their labours. The owner of the land cannot rely on aid in harvest time, and it is useless for him to plant more than he can calculate upon being able to gather, and thus he is obliged to support many hands that are of comparatively little use to him. Place the mill and the furnace in his neighbourhood, and there is at once produced a demand for the surplus labour of one part of the year, while securing a sufficient supply for the other, and thus are the productiveness of labour and the value of the labourer both augmented.

The direct effect of the location of machinery for the production of cloth and iron in any neighbourhood is to produce an increased demand for labour and a rise in its price, and the owner of that machinery is thereby stimulated to exertion to meet the change. His capital is invested in spindles and looms, or in a furnace, and they must be made productive. At thirty yards per loom, per day, he might live, but at forty he would grow rich. The slave would give him the former quantity, but the freeman would give him the latter one. He desires to give to the bondman the stimulus that is felt by the freeman, and he fixes *his task* at 30 yards, paying for the surplus as over-work. At once the slave becomes to a considerable extent, a seller of his own time, and a receiver of wages. Such is the course of things now at the South, and such must it continue to be, and thus the increase of wealth in the form of the cotton mill or the furnace, while tending to enrich the owner of slaves, tends equally to the enfranchisement of the man who is held as a slave.

The mill brings people to the neighbourhood, and new demands for labour arise, and with each step there is an increase in the value of labour, and in the power of consuming its products. Houses are wanted, and stone quarries become valuable, while the demand for timber enables the land-owner to sell his trees instead of killing them. His land increases in value, because of the facility of exchanging food and cotton for cloth and iron; and he himself grows rich, because he is enabled readily to return to the land the refuse of its products, in the form of manure, thereby increasing his crops. A demand arises for numerous smaller articles of food, and gardens and little farms appear, the high price obtainable for such portions of land offering to the great land-owner a strong inducement to the division of his land. The slave who has earned wages in a mill may become an owner of land, or his fellow-slave may cultivate a fewacres of cabbages, and peas, and beans, required to meet the demand that has arisen, paying to his master a fixed sum in lieu of his services, retaining the balance as wages. He thus becomes a payer of rent. Each step thus made is but the preparation for a new and greater one, and those who may examine the subject will see such steps being made throughout the South, and always in the ratio of the growth of wealth. In Mississippi and Louisiana, slaves have their little pieces of land, the products of which they sell to the highest bidder, who is very frequently their master. To such an extent is this carried, that I have known a single planter from the latter State to be charged, on his visit to the North, with $2500 belonging to his people, to be applied to the execution of their orders for commodities of various kind. Here is a step towards Freedom, and all that is needed to bring about perfect freedom is the pursuance of that course which tends to increase the value of land and labour, by bringing together the consumer and the producer, thus diminishing the waste of labour and of manure on the road and in the work of transportation and exchange, by the vast extent of which both the land and its owner are now being exhausted.

Throughout the world the tendency to the division of land has existed in the ratio of the growth of wealth, although counteracted sometimes by laws like those now existing in England, the effect of which is to repel capital from land and to drive it into manufactures and commerce. In Russia, and Hungary, and Mexico, poor nations, land is held in large quantities. In Belgium and Tuscany, the richest portions of continental Europe, it is held in small ones. In India, under British rule, the village proprietor has disappeared, to be replaced by the great Zemindar. In New England, land is divided, but as we pass South and West, with diminishing wealth, we find land becoming less valuable and held in larger quantities.

That the growth of wealth and the tendency to the division of land, and freedom of man, in the Southern States, have been slow, has resulted from the fact that their policy has tended to the exhaustion of the land and impoverishment of its owner, who has thus been compelled to fly to new land to be again exhausted. In Virginia and South Carolina, but particularly in the latter, there is a tendency towards actual depopulation, the necessary consequences of which is the accumulation of large bodies of lands in the hands of individuals, who become poorer as their possessions increase in size, because of the constantly diminishing power of combination for any purpose of improvement. In Georgia, on the contrary, there is a rapid increase of population with a corresponding increase in the productiveness of labour in the value of land, accompanied by a tendency to its subdivision, and to the consequent freedom of man.

It is a common impression, that the people of South Carolina have exhausted their rich lands, and that they are moving away from poor ones; yet nothing can be more erroneous. They commenced upon poor soils, as has been done in every country of the world, and they are now flying from meadow lands capable of yielding the finest artificial grasses, of which they have millions of acres untouched—from river bottoms uncleared—from swamps undrained—and from marl, and lime, and iron ore, all of which exist in almost unlimited quantity. Nature has done for that State everything that could be done, but man has, as yet, done nothing but exhaust the poor soils upon which the work of cultivation was first commenced, and therefore it is that their agricultural reports, and their newspapers repeat, year after year, the question, "What shall the cotton planters do?"

"This," says the editor of the *South Carolinian* in one of his papers now but a few weeks old, "is a question daily asked by our planting friends.—There seems," he continues, "at present great solicitude as to the policy which is to be pursued by them in pitching their next crop. We hear the cry of less cotton and more grain ringing from one end of the State to the other. We are not surprised that many planters who plant heavily should say their present crop will bring them in debt if the ruinous prices continue much longer. No planter can make both ends meet who receives only four or five cents for his cotton, and has to pay the present exorbitant prices for bagging, bale rope, pork, mules, sugar, coffee, salt and iron. Mules are high, pork is high, bagging and rope are up to the prices of the twelve and fifteen cent times of cotton, and sugar, coffee, iron and salt steadily stand at the old rates. If to expenditures for these necessary articles, the planter has to add his negro clothes, shoes, hats and blankets, he will have nothing left to remunerate him for his labour. These are really matters which they should ponder over, and a system of planting which does not repay for the labour and investment of capital engaged in it, we reasonably think would soon be abandoned. But it will not be. Our planters are taught no other systems; they do not know how they will supply the vacuum which would be made by an immediate abandonment of the cotton crop. It would take several years before they could perfect, with the strictest economy, those arrangements which would render them entirely independent of it as a marketable crop. Therefore the step taken should be wisely considered before adopted, and the utmost caution should be observed in making, what we sincerely believe would be, if once begun, a radical change in our system of agriculture. We therefore advise for the coming year, a reduction simply of one-third of the cotton crop throughout the State; devoting at the same time, the land thus thrown out of the cultivation of this crop, to the production of grain; and the increase of labour which would thus be given, to the proper manuring and improved tillage of the cotton planted, and the general improvement of the plantation. By this process the cotton lands would be increased in fertility, and the increase of grain which would follow, would greatly facilitate the rearing of mules, hogs, cattle and sheep; and in a short time the whole State could render itself independent of the exactions of our Kentucky neighbours, who kindly supply us with all such things, simply at the expense of the prosperity of our agricultural population; for, in practice, they annually sweep the country of all the surplus cash which is afloat, in payment for their bacon and mules. We would, if this system were adopted, soon be able to produce as much cotton on fifty acres as we do now on one hundred; and the investment of the agricultural profits of the State at home, although they might be small, would have a wonderful influence on general prosperity, and build facilities throughout our now desolate and almost unapproachable State, which would not only enchain our own sons to her borders, but induce capitalists to come into our midst, to make their dollars tell, by learning us a lesson of practical enterprise. We say to the planters, raise less cotton, more grain, more mules, more hogs; make your own negro clothes; raise sheep—make your own blankets; erect tan-yards, encourage shoemakers and hatters—in fact, artisans of all kinds to settle permanently amongst you; labour at making your soil rich, and do not devote all your energies at wearing it out; and soon all things will go well with you. You will not make so many bales of cotton; in fact may not cut such a swell on your factor's books; but take our word for it, you will have happier slaves, richer lands, more thrift and fewer debts, and sleepless thoughts, to harrass your hours of rest."

It is impossible to read this without being struck with the fact that, while, from the exhaustion of her original poor soils, and her inability to clear and drain rich ones, that State is unable to produce cotton in competition with her neighbours, she is a large importer of other agricultural produce. Her chief city is supplied with hay from the North, notwithstanding her abundance of rich meadow land. She consumes the pork of Ohio, and she uses the mules of Kentucky; and thus, while selling her products at the low price that is necessarily consequent upon her distance from the place at which her food and cotton are to be converted into cloth, she buys of others food, mules, &c. at the highest price, because of her distance from the place of production. She wastes labour and manure upon the road, and is then surprised at the exhaustion that results necessarily from such a course of policy.

The remedy for all this may, it is supposed, be found, first, in diminishing the quantity of cotton; but that is already diminishing so rapidly that the great cause of apprehension throughout the State seems to be that its cultivation must soon cease, because of inability to produce it. She desires to diminish the supply of cotton, while her people are flying from her to seek the West, there *to produce more cotton.*—Second, the lands are to be manured, but we are not told from whence the manure is to come. The State has scarcely any consumers of agricultural produce except those who are engaged in its production, and their consumption yields but little manure. Her horses are always on the road, waiting the manure yielded by her hay and her corn, and her rice and cotton are consumed abroad, the consequence of which is, that of what is yielded by the land nothing goes back, and the land and the owner become impoverished together. Her population diminishes. Everybody is seeking to find elsewhere a better place for employing his capital and his labour. Under such circumstances it is useless to talk about artificial manures, and her swamps and river bottoms, in which cost of clearing for the raising of three or four hundred pounds of cotton to the acre. Give her a consuming population that will make a market on the ground for the tons of potatoes, and turnips, and hay, and the milk, and the veal, that will be yielded by rich soils, and the State will become one of the richest of the Union. It is population that makes food come from the rich soils, as we see to be the case in Belgium, and England, and New England, and it is depopulation that drives men back to the poorer ones, as is shown in Ireland, India, South Carolina, and Virginia. The people of Ireland are flying from each other as if from pestilence, and yet that unfortunate island, in which men are restricted almost entirely to the cultivation of the land, offers us now the chief European market for our surplus food, while South Carolina, destitute of consumers, is one of the principal markets of populous Ohio for her surplus products. Whenever the former shall begin to consume on the land the products of the land, she will have manure to keep in cultivation her poor soil, and she will acquire ability to clear and drain the rich ones, and then she may export hay instead of importing it. Ireland, like South Carolina, abounds in rich soils untoched. She has millions of acres of bog that could be drained with far less labour, and at far less cost, than have been required for similar lands in England, and it is estimated that three millions of these acres would afford food for six millions of people; but, also like South Carolina, she is compelled to waste on the road the labour and manure yielded by the poorer soils now in cultivation, and is thereby rendered too poor to clear and drain the rich ones, which never have paid, and never can pay, the cost of preparation, without the presence of a consuming population requiring the potatoes, and the turnips, and the hay, of which the earth yields by tons, and not by pounds or bushels.

The third and last remedy is, that of "encouraging" shoemakers, and hatters, and artisans of all kinds to settle in the State; but it is difficult to see what encouragement can be given in accordance with the doctrines of South Carolina. All that she can say to such men is—"You may come among us, bringing with you your machinery, and applying your means to the erection of houses and mills, and so long as it suits our purpose we will give you labour, and food, and cotton, for cloth, but if prices abroad should fail, we will cease to exchange with you, and you may then abandon your buildings and remove elsewhere. Our duty to ourselves requires that we should sell in the dearest market and buy in the cheapest one, and we can offer you no encouragement other than that we have stated." To this the maker of hats, or shoes, and cloths, or iron, objects. He says, "I can *compel* you to come to me in the large markets of Lowell or Manchester, with your cotton, and your food, for which I will give you hats, or cloths or shoes, and if from failure of crops or other circumstances you fail to come, I have still the market of the world before me; but if I go to you, and you then fail to exchange with me, I can have no other market, and I shall be ruined. Make me secure that you will take my cloth, and give me for it the potatoes, and the turnips, and the milk, and the veal, required for my people, and the cotton required for my works, allowing me something for the use of my capital, and for my skill, and I will come among you; but until

harmonize with each other. Passing from that State in Georgia, Tennessee, Louisiana, or Kentucky, and thence into the Northern States, we find with each step an increasing tendency towards protecting the labourer against the unceasing fluctuations consequent upon the existence of the artificial system of England, which has thus far been maintained only by aid of colonies whose inhabitants could be *compelled* to send the raw materials yielded by the great machine of production, to a distance of thousands of miles, by land and water carriage, in quest of the little and easily transported machines of conversion, the spinning-jenny and the loom, the awl and the last, with infinite loss of labour, and with certain exhaustation of land: and each step we find a corresponding tendency towards perfect freedom of thought and action in all classes, from the highest to the lowest.

If these views are correct, the true way to bring about the gradual abolition of Slavery must be to endeavour to increase the value of Southern land and Southern labour, to the advantage of both master and servant; a measure that can be accomplished only by an increase in the ratio of spades and plough, and mills, and furnaces, and other of the machinery which constitutes wealth, to population. If the Southern man desires to do this, he *must* "encourage" the owners of such wealth to come, or to stay, among them, and the only manner in which this can be done, is to render them secure that they are not to be left high and dry at the first instant of change abroad. In no country has the plough prospered at a distance from the loom and the anvil. In none can it prosper, because where the machinery of conversion is distant, the loss of labour is *far greater* than would be the quantity required for the production of all the cloth and all the iron required for the consumption of those who produce the raw materials, food and cotton.

There is not a single county in Virginia or South Carolina in which there is not absolutely wasted, for want of regular demand for it, more labour than would make all the cloth and all the iron consumed in it: not one that does not waste on the road, and in the procuring of wagons, and carts, and horses, and mules, more than would be required to make all their cloth, and all their iron: not one in which the loss from the want of the manure that is wasted on the road and in distant markets, is not greater than the value, raw material included, of all the cloth and iron they consume: not one in which the loss from cultivating lands yielding 8 or 10 bushels of wheat, or 200 to 300 pounds of cotton, in sight of rich lands that would yield tons of potatoes, is not *double* the value of all the cloth and iron they can afford to buy. Therefore it is that the land owner is poor, and the land is poor, and labour is of little value, and the labourer himself is cheap enough to be sold for exportation to other States in which the loom and the anvil are taking their place by the side of the plough and the harrow.

The way to the abolition of Slavery is simple. It needs nothing but that we arrest the progress of depopulation by enabling men to live together, combining their exertions, and thus rendering them more productive of the commodities and things which are required for the maintenance and gradual improvement of their condition.—By such a process the farmer and planter obtain the advantage resulting from the presence of prosperous consumers of food, and they are thereby enabled to clear and cultivate rich lands, increasing the productiveness of labour, and the value of labour and of land. In the effort to accomplish this, the farmer and planter need protection against the endless fluctuations of foreign policy, and the day is not, as I think, far distant, when it will be universally admitted that protection is emphatically a planter and farmer's measure. When that time shall arrive each day will see an increasing tendency towards the perfect freedom of all classes, black and white towards the most perfect harmony and good will among the various sections of the Union.

Properly examined, there is no difference in their interests, and there is no good reason why such harmony should not prevail. Every man that is kept in the factories and furnaces of Pennsylvania, becomes a consumer of food—a customer to the farmer and planter. Every man that is compelled, as now, to quit those factories, mines, or furnaces, flies to the West, to become a producer of food or cotton, and therefore a rival to the farmer and planter. The more customers, the higher is the price of food and cotton, of labour and land. The more rivals, the lower are the prices of all. The great machine is the earth, and the great interest is that of the cultivation of the earth. The little machines are those which convert the food and the cotton into cloth. The great machine tends to attract the small ones, and in the natural course of things, the latter will always go to the former, with constant increase in the productiveness of labour and land. The system of England tends to compel the product of the great machine to come to the small ones, with vast loss of labour and manure, producing diminution in the value of labour and land, as may be seen in all her colonies. That disturbing cause tended greatly to produce our Revolution. It has alienated Ireland. It palsies Canada. It has ruined India, and the West Indies. It compels the people of the Union to fly from each other, and to raise cotton and corn in Texas and Iowa, when their labour might be twice as productive if employed in converting the cotton and corn of South Carolina and Virginia into cloth. It diminishes *by at least one-half* the return to, and the wages of, labour throughout the Union. The protective system, now almost universal, is but a measure of resistance on the part of those who cultivate the earth, against a great wrong, and when it shall come to be fully understood that such is the case, it will be seen that throughout the whole length and breadth of the land, among freemen and slaves, there is a perfect harmony of interests, and hostility between the men of the North and those of the South will pass away.

The natural addition to our population is now almost 600,000, enough, if applied to the work of converting food and wool into cloth, and food and ore into iron, to make, *in a single year*, a market for all our surplus food. The immigration in a year, has, however, already reached 250,000, and were it once distinctly understood that the producers of food and cotton were determined to obtain their cloth and iron from those who consumed their food while converting, on the spot, their cotton into cloth, and their ore into iron, it would soon reach half a million, embracing artisans of every description, and thus would be made a market on the land for all the products of the land. The Carolinian would then make his own coarse cloth instead of buying it, and he would export his food and his cotton in the shape of yarn, and the people of the Eastern States would then make fine cloths instead of coarse ones, and with each step in this process, the labour of man, black and white, would become more valuable, and all would become more happy and more free. Ten years of efficient protection *and the farmer and planter* in their efforts to induce the loom and the anvil to take their places by the side of the plough and the harrow, would do more towards solving this great question, now esteemed so difficult, than "Free Soil" votes and Wilmot "Provisos" could accomplish in a century.

I remain, dear sir, with great regard, yours very truly,

HENRY C. CAREY.

Burlington, Dec. 7, 1848.

NATHAN APPLETON, Esq.

From the Columbus State Journal.

COLOURED MEN'S CONVENTION IN OHIO.

A Convention of the Coloured Freemen of the State of Ohio has been in session in this city for several days, and is numerously attended by intelligent and respectable men from all parts of the State. It was organized on Wednesday, in the Methodist Episcopal Church on Long street by the appointment of Charles Langston, Esq. of Chilliecothe, as President, with the usual number of Vice Presidents and Secretaries.

On Thursday evening, pursuant to permission obtained for that purpose, the Convention met in the Hall of Representatives. The meeting itself, aside from the unusually interesting nature of the exercises, is an incident in our history well worthy of reflection and remark. The coloured man has been allowed to come up, without insult and without reproach—to enter into a place hitherto deemed sacred to the white man alone, and stand there to plead his right to be deemed a man and a brother, and to claim a community of interest in all that appertains to humanity—to say "*our* God,' and to beg permission to say "*our* Country."

A prepared address was delivered by Wm. H. Day, a young man from Oberlin, upon the subject of the grievances which the coloured people of the United States—both in Slavery and emancipation—suffer in comparison to those borne by the fathers of this Republic, under the rule of Great Britain, before the Revolution. The parallels drawn between the two cases were extremely striking and forcible, and for beauty of composition and propriety of delivery, the oration would bear a comparison with the laboured efforts of men of far greater fame and far higher pretension.

After the close of Mr. Day's address, the audience was agreeably entertained by a speech from John M. Watson of Cleveland. Mr. Watson announced himself as a native born citizen of Virginia—the land of Washington, and a "self-emancipated slave." He thought that he might recommend himself and his remarks to the Democrats present, by the fact that he was born upon the same soil, and had breathed the same air that blew over the same hills with Thomas Jefferson. An emigrant from a sister State, he came here to beg as a boon the bestowal upon him and those who were in his situation, of those privileges which were freely granted as a right to the emigrant from Ireland or from Germany. He went into an examination of the black laws—their constitutionality, and their legal and moral effect. They work, he said, degradation to the black and disgrace to the white man. If they are a dead letter, why lea ve them as monuments of the barbarism of the past; if they are a living law, interpose to prevent the horrid injustice of which they may be made the instruments in future.

The address was a strong and a good one, and was enlivened by sparks of genuine wit, which elicited frequent and tumultuous applause. The speaker himself was an evidence of what a soul can do, even under the pressure of extraordinary difficulties. In his case it has made a man.

The meeting was enlivened by some fine singing, and was a model of all that was decorous and respectable.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY JANUARY, 25, 1849.

The Southern Movement.

The Southern Congressional Caucus met on the 15th instant, notwithstanding the meeting was held with closed doors, the proceedings have been fully reported, and no doubt correctly. We copy such of the Reports as will convey to the reader a good idea of the spirit that governed the meeting, and the course pursued, and that which was in part adopted. We first copy the report of the correspondent of the *Herald*:

WASHINGTON, January 16—P. M.

The Southern Congressional Caucus met at half past seven o'clock last evening, in the Senate Chamber.

There were between eighty and ninety Southern members of the two houses present.

General HOUSTON moved that the galleries be opened to the reporters and the people. It was lost, by a vote of 56 to 34.

Mr. CALHOUN, from the Committee of Fifteen, presented the address prepared by the committee, and the proceedings of the committee and its sub-committee of five. It appears that the address of Mr. Calhoun, as rendered to the committee of five, recommended the resistance of the South to the enforcement of the Wilmot proviso.

Mr. CLAYTON, of the Sub-Committee, moved to strike out that part, which was agreed to. The address was then adopted by the committee, 3 to 2; Messrs. Calhoun, King, and Bayly for it, and Messrs. Morehead and Clayton opposed to it. The address submitted to the main committee of fifteen, was adopted, 8 to 7; Mr. Rusk voting, with six Whigs, against it. As thus agreed to it was then submitted to the general caucus by Mr. Calhoun, and read.

Mr. FOOTE moved that the address be received.

Mr. MOREHEAD objected to the motion; he did not understand it; he thought the paper was received when presented.

Mr. FOOTE withdrew the motion, and moved a resolution that such members of the meeting as thought proper, should sign the address, and that it be kept open for twenty-four hours for others to sign.

Mr MOREHEAD objected to the proceeding. It was equivalent to a dissolution of the meeting, without any expression of opinion upon the address. The address is a recapitulation of the aggressions of the North upon the institution of Slavery, and recommends union among the people of the South, in view of the great danger at hand.

The motion of Mr. Foote, as understood, was withdrawn.

Mr. CLAYTON moved to lay the address upon the table, as a test question.

Mr. CALHOUN objected, as the motion at once arrested the privilege of discussion.

Mr. CLAYTON withdrew the motion for the present, for the purpose of affording privilege for debate.

Mr. CALHOUN took the floor, urging a *dissolution of the Union as preferable to the submission of the South to the enforcement of the Wilmot proviso* in reference to the new territories.

Mr. BAYLY compared the grievances of the South to those of the colonies of America, which drove them to rebellion.

Mr. UNDERWOOD asked if the gentleman from Virginia wished this address to go out as a declaration of Independence?

Mr. BAYLY—"Oh, not yet."

Mr. MOREHEAD moved a series of resolutions, declaring the Union indivisible—the prosperity of the States and the happiness of the people dependent upon it; that the late movement for the abolition of Slavery, in the District of Columbia, violated the spirit of the Constitution; and that the opposition to the Wilmot proviso; but that they believed the whole question would be settled, by a spirit of compromise, in a manner acceptable to both sections of the Union.

Mr. CALHOUN said he would agree to those resolutions with the addition of another declaring that the South would prefer dissolution to the abolition of Slavery through the aggressions of the North.

Mr. MOREHEAD replied in vindication of the Union.

Mr. FOOTE asked if the gentleman from Kentucky would consent to sustain the Union if the Wilmot proviso were passed in reference to the new territories?

Mr. MOREHEAD—"The Union, Sir, even with the Wilmot Proviso."

Mr. FOOTE asked if, in case the proviso should be followed up by direct attacks on Slavery in the States, the gentleman would still consent to submit for the sake of the Union?

Mr. MOREHEAD replied that, if the necessity for meeting such attacks should come, he would be prepared to answer; but he did not anticipate any such necessity. He made a strong and earnest appeal in behalf of adherence to the Union.

Messrs. Calhoun, Bayly, and Holmes, on the one side, and Messrs, Underwood, Morehead, Houston, Rusk, Clayton, and others, on the other, kept up the debate till near 12 o'clock at night.

Mr. STEPHENS was for the Union; and with the view of ending these caucuses, moved an adjournment, *sine die*; but the motion was lost, 50 to 30.

Mr. BERRIEN believed that all talk of dissolution was idle; that the idea of disunion could not be entertained; that the thing was impossible; that the people of the country could never be persuaded or driven to that extremity; that they loved the Union, and knew its value too well to consent to its dissolution. He would prefer, in lieu of the proposed address to the South, that it be re-committed, with instructions to the committee to prepare an address to the people of the whole Union, appealing as well to the sense of justice of the North as to the people of the South.

The motion to recommit with instructions was lost.

A motion was then made to recommit the report, which was agreed to. 44 to 42.

Various motions were made for another meeting, and it was finally agreed to hold another on Monday night next. The meeting then adjourned.

The caucus was pretty nearly divided between Whigs and Democrats—the Democrats headed by Mr. Calhoun, going for ultra measures, and the Whigs for prudence and consolidation. The Texas members, headed by Gen. Houston, and supported by Mr. Westcott, of Florida, stood firm for the Union. They deserve well of their country; for their conduct on this subject has been noble and true. The fact that Mr. Calhoun was a leader in these meetings, has weakened them most decidedly. Mr. Calhoun is a patriot; but he is wild upon the subject of Slavery. Calmer minded men are not prepared to follow him. At the next meeting we expect the whole affair will be exploded.

The correspondent of the *Philadelphia North American—Independent*—whose sources of information are known to be authentic, writes under date of the 16th inst.

The proposition introduced by Mr. Foote to allow the Address to be signed by such only as accepted it, is regarded as an unworthy *ruse* to smuggle a paper through, to be sent out to the country as the expression of the "Southern Delegation in Congress," such having the caption of the Address. This was not the only attempt to carry by stratagem what the unequivocal sentiment of the Caucus had refused to adopt.

Although many of the Southern Loco-focos voluntarily expressed themselves, in private intercourse, as hostile to the manifesto, they lacked the courage to meet the question fairly when it was presented, and succumbed to a dictation which they were willing, but afraid, to resist. Thus, although Mr. Clayton, who opened the debate on the address, and closed with a motion to lay it on the table, waived his right to compel a division, and permitted the discussion to be freely pursued—when he did insist, after hours of profitless gasconade from Mr. Bayly, Mr. Westcott, and Mr. J. Davis, to bring the question home, they refused to sustain him, there being but 27 ayes, and 55 nays.

After this failure to get a direct expression of disapprobation, the test was made upon Mr. Berrien's proposition to recommit the Address to the Committee, with instructions to report an Appeal to the People of the whole Union, in dignified and temperate terms, setting forth the consequences that would inevitably ensue from a continuance of the movements which had been recently witnessed in Congress. Mr. McKay insisted upon a division of the motion, so that the question would occur upon the recommitment, without the instructions. This step was in flagrant hostility to the wishes of Mr. Calhoun, and all his influence was employed to defeat it and keep the address before the meeting.

Both sides rallied, and the result is detailed in the following exhibit of the ayes and nays, which, in one or two instances may be inaccurate, but, in the main, is entirely reliable.

AYES—Messrs. Clayton, Spruance, Pearce, R. Johnson Roman, *Ligon*, Chapman, *McLane*, Crisfield, Flourney, Goggin, Pendleton, McDowell, Fulton, Clingman, Barringer, *Daniel*, *McKay*, Berrien, T. B. King, J. W. Jones, *Lumpkin*, *Cobb*, Stephens, Tombs, Hilliard, Tompkins, Metcalf, Underwood, *Boyd* Morehead, Bell Cocke, Crozier, *Thomas*, Gentry, Barrow, Haskell, *Boulin*, Cabell, *Rusk*, *Houston*, *Kaufmann*, *Pillsbury*—44.

NAYS—Messrs. Mason, Hunter, Atkinson, Meade, Bocock, Bayly, Bedinger, Thompson, W. G. Brown, Venable, Butler, Calhoun, Wallace, Simpson, Woodward, Holmes, Rhett, Haralson, Iverson, W. R. King, Fitzpatrick, GAYLE, Harris, Inge, Peyton, Davis, Foote, I. Thompson, Featherston, A. G. Brown, Downs, La Sere, Harmanson, Morse, Turney, Hill, Staunton, Atchison, Borland, R. W. Johnson, Westcott, Yulee—42.

It may be readily discovered from this vote, that Mr. Calhoun's defeat was overwhelming, for he had the advantage of support, which, upon a final test, of accepting or rejecting the address, would have recorded themselves in the negative, or escaped from the hall.

Mr. STEPHENS then proposed to adjourn *sine die*, but the regular troops rallied the doubtful to their aid, and it failed by 22 ayes to 67 nays. It is worthy of remark, in this connection, that Mr. McLane of Maryland, and gentlemen of his stamp, opposed the motion of Mr. Clayton and Mr. Stephens, while they sustained that of Mr. Berrien, amended by Mr. McKay, which in effect produced the same result. I cite the fact to show, that they were indisposed to meet the responsibility of their whole duty and yet willing to strike an equally effective blow by indirect means. They were faithless to themselves, as well as to Mr. Calhoun, whom they had not the nerve to encounter in an open and manly engagement.

The recommitment was an effectual quietus to the movement; for Clayton immediately rose and stated that, as he had participated in the proceedings of the meeting and Committees in the hope of giving a judicious direction to the proceedings, and of promoting wise counsels, he would no longer serve on any Committee or participate in any future meetings. My telegraphic dispatch of this date has informed the public that Mr. Stephens, Mr. Chapman, Mr Morehead and Mr. Rusk also withdrew from the General Committee.

Governor METCALF, in accordance with his duty as the presiding officer of the meeting, will supply the vacancies, and an effort will be made to contrive another caucus for next Monday night.

The same writer in a letter dated the 18th says:—

Great injustice has been done to a gentleman who participated in the proceedings of the recent caucus, by *ex parte* statements prepared to reflect particular views, and to operate to the prejudice of opposing interests. It shall be my aim to correct some of these misrepresentations and to give the country a full and just understanding of all the important facts that transpired on that occasion.

After Mr. Clayton, Mr. Bayly and Mr. Toombs had spoken to the Address, Mr. Morehead of Kentucky protested against its adoption, because it looked to a remedy beyond the Constitution. But when this was charged, gentlemen answered that the allegation was unfounded and no project of dissolution was contemplated. With a view then of testing the sincerity of these declarations, he submitted the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That the Union of the States under the Constitution, by which it was established, is indispensable to the happiness and prosperity we now enjoy; that, with it, all our dearest affections and best interests are indissolubly blended, and that we shall continue to look upon it, in the language of the Father of his Country, "As a main pillar in the edifice of our real independence, the support of our tranquility at home, our peace abroad; of our safety, of our prosperity, of that very liberty we so highly prize."—And we desire to transmit it unimpaired to our latest posterity.

Resolved, That the patriots and sages who framed the Constitution under which we live, found domestic Slavery existing in many of the States, and intimately interwoven with their institutions, and they left it where they found it, under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the States in which it was; giving, at the same time, to all of the rights growing out of that relation, a full and unqualified recognition in what are commonly called the compromises of the Constitution, without which, it is well known, the Union of these States, could never have been formed.

Resolved, That the question of excluding Slavery from the territories which are common property of all the States, is one about which it is known that there is a radical difference of opinion between two great sections of our country; and that to settle it without injurious consequences to our future high destiny, it is the part of true patriotism to bring to the task that spirit of conciliation and compromise under the influence of which the Federal Constitution was framed; and we cherish the hope that the enlightened patriotism of both North and South may yet unite on some plan which shall harmonize with the feelings of both sections.

Resolved, That we consider any interference by Congress with the relation of master and slave in the District of Columbia a violation of the spirit, if not the letter of the Constitution, subversive of its compromises and guarantees, producing the alienation of those fraternal feelings which have so long existed between the different sections of our country, and which may result in the consummation of an evil which we shall never cease to deplore. We therefore pledge ourselves to resist such an act in every manner known to the Constitution.

When the resolutions had been read and submitted, Mr. Calhoun rose, under feelings of ill-suppressed excitement. He declared, if a vote was pressed, he would offer an amendment asserting that a dissolution of the Union was preferrable to emancipation in the States. No test was taken, and the resolutions went to the table, with others offered by Mr. Rusk, embracing the same general view.

With the exception of the last, the resolutions offered by Mr. Morehead were liberal, patriotic and unexceptionable. How interference with Slavery in this District by Congress can be regarded as an infraction of the "letter or spirit of the Constitution," is more than I am able to understand.—It may be impolitic, inexpedient, subversive of the spirit of compromise, but I cannot see how it can be considered unconstitutional, when the Constitution expressly declares that "Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in *all cases whatsoever*, over such district as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of Government of the United States." Yet the Disunionists refused to accept the resolutions because they asserted a sentiment which every patriot must approve.

Hope has not been abandoned even yet, by the disorganizing faction which set this sectional ball in motion. A meeting of the General Committee was held this morning, preparatory to the final demonstration on Monday night. Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Mississippi, were not represented. Mr. Clayton refused positively to participate, and no substitute appeared in his stead. Mr. Pearce of Md. who had been substituted for Mr. Chapman, declined the honour in a formal letter. Mr. Peyton of Ky. who had been named in place of Mr. Morehead, failed to attend, and Mr. Foote was absent. Mr. Kaufman of Texas, appeared in lieu of Gen. Rusk.

At the opening of the meeting, Mr. King of Ala. was called to the chair, and Mr. Berrien renewed the motion which he had offered in caucus, on Monday night, for the appointment of a sub-committee of five to prepare an address to the people of the United States, and not to the South alone, as was proposed by Mr. Calhoun. The proposition prevailed, and the following gentlemen were appointed: Messrs. Berrien, Calhoun, Cabell, Atchison and Bayly.

The complexion of this Committee warrants the opinion that the original address will be reported back, with amendments, for it is understood that Mr. Calhoun's party are anxious to modify some of the assertions which are not sustained by the truth of history. In such an event, it is possible that majority and minority reports will be submitted, both of which may be carried before the caucus for final action. But of this contingency I can only speak in doubt, until the Committee decides on Saturday, when it is again summoned to meet.

An important fact was disclosed in the course of the proceedings to-day, which does not reflect much credit on the parties concerned. Mr. Calhoun's address was carried in the General Committee on Saturday last by a majority of one, proxies being admitted in the affirmative—Mr. Foote voting for Mr. Sebastian and Mr. Downs for Mr. King.

When the subject was under discussion this morning Mr. Sebastian remarked that he had not examined the address with sufficient care to give it his entire approval, thereby leaving the inference that Mr. Calhoun had assumed to represent him without express authority. As this vote decided the fate of the manifesto, it may be fairly questioned whether it was properly adopted, and Mr. Foote owes it to himself, as well as to the public, to explain under what power he acted.

This system of tactics may be honourable in Mississippi, but wherever truth and integrity are valued it must be condemned. A similar stroke of strategy was attempted in caucus, but was as promptly exposed and repelled by the sense of the meeting. A cause which needs such expedients may well challenge the indignation and resentment of the country.

The following are the resolutions offered by Senator Rusk of Texas, as a substitute for Mr. Calhoun's address:

Resolved, That this country look upon the Union as the only safe guaranty of Republican and Constitutional liberty.

Resolved, That a strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, in all its compromises, is our only safety.

Resolved, That it is inconsistent with the broad principles of Justice, and a palpable infraction on the spirit of the Constitution to exclude by legislative enactments any portion of the citizens of the United States from a full and equal participation in the benefits of any territory acquired by the common blood and treasure of all the States.

Resolved, That in our capacity as Representatives, we would firmly resist all attempts at partial and therefore oppressive and unjust legislation, and that we have an abiding confidence in an appeal to the patriotic citizens of every portion of this Confederacy to secure and protect our constituents in the enjoyment of all their Constitutional rights.

Resolved, That if Northern fanatics and politicians persist in carrying out their unjust plans, the American people and the civilized world will hold them responsible for any consequences that may ensue.

On monday night the caucus again met, but all that we yet know of its proceedings is, that the address of Judge Berrien was adopted by a vote of 33 to 26, and Mr. Calhoun's by a vote of 32 to 19.

It pleases the Washington letter-writers, and the newspaper editors follow their example, to pronounce the movement a failure. Certainly if they expected the Southern members to declare the union of the States at an end, to leave their seats in Congress in a body, to return to their constituents, and to take measures at once to organise a Southern Confederacy, then certainly these writers are correct in assuming that the movement is a failure—even an absurd abortion. But immediate disunion was not the purpose of probably any member of this Convention, except perhaps Calhoun, nor do we believe that he was mad enough to expect it. That gentleman no doubt sincerely desires a dismemberment of the States, and sincerely and earnestly therefore urges the South to take such steps as must, in a certain contingency, lead to such a result. He believes that half-way measures, of protest, or exhortation, or warning, are useless as not meeting the want of the South, and goes therefore directly to his object, hoping that by continuous effort this may be accomplished. In this he acts like a man of sense who knows that no great end was ever yet reached except through the efforts of just such earnest men as himself, always denounced by their co-temporaries as fanatics, but never swerving a hair's breadth from the distinctness of their aim, or losing sight for a moment of their goal. His philosophy is precisley the same as that which governs the Disunionists of the North, who by no means anticipate a dissolution of the Union as the immediate result of any of their meetings, but do not therefore hold those meetings as failures, nor are deterred by the want of immediate success from advocating again and again the same principles and measures.

But those members of this Southern Caucus, who, perhaps, are not disunionists now, and who deprecate more than anything else any disruption of the political ties of the States, had in this meeting an object, and that object they have accomplished most triumphantly. Their aim was to assert the supremacy of the Slavepower in Congress, and to overawe the Northern members, and they have done both. The Anti-Slavery sentiment at the North has, at this session, forced the Northern Delegation to assume three distinct positions on the Slavery question;—hostility to the payment of Pacheco for his slave; hostility to the continued existence of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the district; and opposition to the extension of Slavery in the Territories. On the other hand, the South, of course, arrayed herself against these measures. The methods which have heretofore been successful in securing her supremacy, have, this winter, failed of success. It was necessary to resort to some new measure, and the caucus was fixed upon. It has been eminently successful. Pacheco is paid for his slave out of the United States' Treasury; Mr. Gott's Resolutions have been defeated; no bill to repress the Slave Trade will be reached this session; and Slavery and the traffic in slaves is secured for the present in the District of Columbia; nor is there the slightest chance that the bill which the Committee on Territories was ordered to report organising a Government, but prohibiting Slavery in California and New Mexico, will be acted upon during this session. And what has turned the current which seemed, at one time, setting so strongly in favour of Liberty and Northern rights? The caucus. The South had only to assume a threatening attitude, and the North through her recreant representatives, yielded. The slaveholders will never demand disunion, so long as they can cajole or bully their Northern brethren into implicit obedience without it; and a crisis has never been more promptly met, or been more successfully turned to the advantage of the Slavepower, than within the last month in Washington.

The correspondent of the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Courier* clearly indicates the Southern policy in the following extract, which we find in a letter in that paper of the 18th:

The report, as I informed you yesterday, recommends nothing, but gives a historical view of the rise and progress of movement Anti-Slavery in this country. It leaves to the Southern States to determine upon the mode of redress. The Southern Democratic members will all sign the report, but some of the Southern Whigs may not, because they think that ordinary means of remonstrance are not exhausted, and that it is not yet time to appeal to the people of the South. But there is no difference, as I am informed, between Southern Whigs and Southern Democrats on the subject, except merely as to the time of movement. The Whigs say wait till an overt act of aggression shall be committed, and then we will be ready for a separation. The Democrats reply, move now and the necessity of separation will be prevented. It is not assumed by the Democrats that any overt act of aggression has been consummated by Congress, but they say that they have been attempted. Thus, they call to mind the fact that there were nineteen votes in the House, some years ago, against the admission of Arkansas as a State into the Union, without the Anti-Slavery proviso; and that there were sixty votes in the House against the admission of Florida, except as a Free State. The argument is that the Anti-Slavery movement is progressive, and, if left unchecked to run its course, must terminate in the dissolution of the Union. The movements in the House, at this session they say, indicate a rapid precipitation of the crisis. At whatever moment, say they, Congress shall pass a law interfering with Slavery in the District of Columbia, or excluding it from all the new territorial acquisitions, at that moment the Union must be dissolved, peaceably or forcibly as it may be.

Whether the conviction of the men referred to by this writer be correct or not, that the Union will be dissolved when Slavery is abolished in the District, or prohibited in the Territories, it is at least certain that the South has neither the intention nor the wish to consummate such an event till the alternative is fairly presented. Her more moderate representatives are not so dull as not to see the advantages of the Union, nor so mad as to leave any means untried by which their ends can be gained before resorting to such a measure; and the appeal of Mr. Clayton, in this caucus, to rely for protection upon the incoming administration would not have been without force, even had they been reduced at this moment to far greater extremity than any observant man can pretend has been the case.

Politics and the Pulpit.

We published last week some extracts from a sermon by Mr. Higginson of Newburyport. We esteem such a sermon a gift to be received as something more than a mere matter-of-course tribute to duty. Mr. Higginson asks and expects no commendation. He does not barter self-sacrifice for an equal weight of praise. But there are many ways of doing one's duty, and there is something in doing it bravely and generously which attracts, and deserves to attract, our admiration and applause. The spirit of this world is fond of inculcating a middle course as the path of wisdom, cunningly flattering our prudence in order to deceive our higher reason.—Men are wont to think that they have extinguished a dangerous fire or dispersed a mephitic vapour when they have succeeded in ridding themselves of that enthusiasm of youth which was truly their God-sent pillar of flame by night and of cloud by day. Eclecticism is very good in its way, and self-satisfies us with a feeling of judicial impartiality, but, if we try to keep the balance even between God and the World, the Flesh is apt to slip an ounce or two of overweight into the worldly end of the scales. Eclecticism as between Heaven and Hell, which is a system of philosophy uncommonly popular, and dignified with the name of common sense, generally amounts to sitting on the fence between those two regions and enjoying at the same time beatific visions of the one without losing a genial glow from the other. Let us thank Mr. Higginson for rejecting this eclectic vicarship of Bray, and for giving us not merely the exact measure of duty, but for giving it pressed down and running over.

There can be no fallacy greater or more dangerous than is contained in the popular axiom that politics and religion should be kept carefully disjoined. It is an axiom which had its origin in the unprincipled self-interest of politicians. It is of a piece with the system which would shut God out from the secular part of the week and imprison him in a particular day and in certain buildings. With equal propriety the merchant might banish religion from business, and the tradesman keep it carefully away from his shop. Indeed it is too often true that, as the clergyman leaves his robes hanging in the vestry, the congregation doff their religion to be locked up in the church where it will be kept safely till they need it to put on, again when the seventh day, appropriate to that ceremony, shall have come round again.

Next to having no religion at all, this kind, which can be put on and off at will, is certainly the most convenient. The African, when he is meditating a predatory excursion, quietly buries his *fetish* under a tree, and, the theft being safely got through with, exhumes his wooden deity and allows him once more the superintendence of his conduct. The editor who rebukes some faithful clergyman for preaching against war or the extension of Slavery, is only angry because the *fetish* has been dug up too soon. Had the clergyman decorously waited till the thing was done, he might have belaboured War and Slavery in the abstract to his heart's content without being called in question for it. By this system, religion is put upon the short allowance of liberty conceded to an imprisoned debtor. Kept carefully under lock and key during six days of the week, he is allowed a kind of qualified freedom (within the limits) on Sundays.

In point of fact it is not politics against which people would shut and bolt the door of the pulpit. Let a clergyman preach a Whig sermon, and the discontent will be found nicely proportioned to the amount of Democracy among his hearers. Let him preach a Democratic one, and it is only the Whigs who will go out of Church and slam their pew-doors behind them. If, on the other hand, he should denounce one of the "ultraisms of the day" even as far as fifteenthly, he would excite no unpleasant feelings except in such of his congregation as were anxious to get to the post office. It is religion itself in its application to the life of the individual, which they would have the preacher eschew. It is such preachers as Nathan that are found fault with for meddling with exciting topics.

The great hardship of the Christian revelation lies in the exact closeness with which it will fit you and me. Embodying a universal truth, it possesses within itself a principle of development which renders it a test for the Church, the State, and the Individual in every possible phase of society. It is a standard which cannot warp or shrink, and which indicates with impartial indifference every deviation from the immutable line of right and duty. It cannot well be a very comfortable instrument in the hands of a faithful minister.

The editor, virtuously indignant at the mingling of politics with religion, while he fancies that he has laid fast hold upon the protecting horns of the altar, has, in truth, only offered himself to be tossed upon those of an inevitable dilemma. For he must either grant that politics are too vile to be admitted into the company of religion, or that religion is too nicely holy for certain kinds of society. If Christianity be good for anything, it is good for use and universal circulation. It is not to be shut up in the Church, as in a kind of bank-vault, to serve for an imaginary specie-basis to the everywhere current shinplasters of sect.

Abolitionists have no quarrel with the Church as a Church, but only with the Church as it is. This is the reason why they are odious to sect-wrights and divinity-mongers. They do not deny the great services which the Church and the clergy have rendered to Truth an Progress as the instruments of order and organization. But they affirm that a Church, to be of any benefit, must be in advance of the social ideas of the age, and demand of the clergy that they no longer organize sects, but society. It is not politics which they ask them to preach, but Christianity itself.

To state the matter more strictly, it is not the Abolitionist who makes these demands. They are the requisitions of our present social condition. Nor is the Church so much called upon to be a Reformer, as to be truly a Church. The clergy, at least in America, are no longer a privileged order. They do not, and cannot, any longer occupy the position which they held when the mouth and the pen were the only vehicles and disseminators of truth. They are no longer the only priests, and there are other pulpits than those in Churches. The member of Congress, the lecturer, and, above all, the editor, are priests and preachers, and the newspaper furnishes a pulpit whence their voices may be heard from one end of the land to the other.

Nevertheless a certain amount of *prestige* still attaches itself to the clergy. They are still looked upon as guardians specially set apart to watch over religion and spiritual things. A seventh part of the year is reserved specially for them, and their obligations to truth are larger in proportion to the opportunity afforded them to disseminate and enforce it. It will be their own fault if they allow themselves to be superseded by lay preachers.

It is hardly to be expected that the older clergy, whose characters have been formed under the pressure of a wholly different style of ideas, should readily adopt themselves to the requirements of a new order of things. If they are not active reformers, they at least offer the example of blameless lives. Let us not question their sincerity, because it is a sincerity to forms which to us seem empty. But all the more ought we endeavour to reinvigorate the Church with an infusion of the reforming and progressive spirit. The Church has suffered here also by having been in some sort an establishment, and having thereby necessarily crystallised into formalism. The same results have everywhere, and at all times, followed the same causes, and the denunciations of the Abolitionists have never been more severe than that sarcasm of the Saint who said that, "whereas the Church had formerly wooden chalices and golden priests, she has now wooden priests and golden chalices."

The form of the Church has always been compelled to adapt itself more or less nearly to the demands of the age. The new spirit of zeal which is making itself manifest in the younger clergy of all denominations, shows that the Church is preparing itself for a new development. Hitherto the Church has been shored up with external props, it is now beginning to be asked whether she contains in herself any principle of life and growth, and men are busying themselves in eliminating the formula of the Ideal Church, which is to be the Church of the Future.

The Puritans divorced the Church from Art, and as far as they could, crushed the poetical element out of religion. But Art had its ample revenge, for it attracted religion to itself out of the Church. The time will come when the two shall be again united and work harmoniously together. Poetry, painting, sculpture and music shall be the steps to that new temple, and the priests shall be ordained by the laying on of the hands of God himself.

J. R. L.

Abram and Zimri.

There was a tradition among the Jews that the field mentioned in the following poem, and consecrated so purely by brotherly love, was chosen by Solomon as the most worthy spot for the erection of his temple to God.

Abram and Zimri owned a field together
A level field hid in a happy vale.
They ploughed it with one plough and in the spring
Sowed, walking side by side, the fruitful seed.
In harvest when the glad earth smiled with grain,
Each carried to his home one half the sheaves,
And stored them with much labour in his barns.
Now Abram had a wife and seven sons,
But Zimri dwelt alone within his house.
One night, before the sheaves were gathered in,
As Zimri lay upon his lonely bed
And counted in his mind his little gains,
He thought upon his brother Abram's lot
And said, "I dwell alone within my house,
But Abram hath a wife and seven sons,
And yet we share the harvest sheaves alike;
He surely needeth more for life than I,
I will arise, and gird myself, and go
Down to the field, and add to his from mine."
So he arose, and girded up his loins,
And went out softly to the level field;
The moon shone out from dusky bars of cloud,
The trees stood black against the cold blue sky,
The branches waved, and whispered in the wind.
So Zimri guided by the shifting light
Went down the mountain path, and found the field,
Took from his store of sheaves a generous third,
And bore them gladly to his brother's heap,
And then went back to sleep and happy dreams.
Now that same night as Abram lay in bed
Thinking upon his blissful state in life
He thought upon his brother Zimri's lot,
And said, "He dwells within his house alone,
He goeth forth to toil with few to help,
He goeth home at night to a cold house,
And hath few other friends but me, and mine,
(For these two tilled the happy vale alone)
While I, whom Heaven hath very greatly blessed,
Dwell happy with my wife, and seven sons
Who aid me in my toil, and make it light;
And yet we share the harvest sheaves alike,
This surely is not pleasing unto God.
I will arise and gird myself, and go
Out to the field, and borrow from my store,
And add unto my brother Zimri's pile,"
So he arose, and girded up his loins,
And went down softly to the level field.
The moon shone out from silver bars of cloud,
The trees stood black against the starry sky,
The thick leaves waved and whispered in the breeze.
So Abram, guided by the doubtful light,
Passed down the mountain path, and found the field,
Took from his store of sheaves a generous third,
And added them unto his brother's heap,
Then he went back to sleep and happy dreams.
So the next morning with the early sun
The brothers rose, and went out to their toil.
And when they came to see the heavy sheaves
Each wondered in his heart to find his heap
Though he had given a third, was still the same.
Now the next night went Zimri to the field,
Took from his store of sheaves a generous share,
And

through the next, by overwhelming the Legislature with petitions. We have not room for the debate which ensued in the Senate but observe that the bill was advocated by Messrs. Cornwell, Floyd, Fuller, Fine, Treadwell, Coffin, and Hawley, and opposed by Messrs. Bush and Johnson.

Zachary Macaulay.

Thomas Sturge, of England, contributes to the *Liberty Bell*, of this year an exceedingly interesting article upon the early struggles of the Abolitionists of Great Britain; it is as well a deserved tribute to the memory of one of the most self devoted and ablest advocates that the cause of the British Emancipation ever had. We copy it, as probably but a small portion of our readers will have an opportunity of seeing it elsewhere, prefacing it with a paragraph from the Memoir of Thomas Fowell Buxton. Mr. Buxton, speaking of several of the coadjutors of his father, says:

"A no less essential member of the Anti-Slavery cabinet was Mr. Zachary Macaulay. The Parliamentary leaders derived the utmost assistance from his matured judgment, and from those vast stores of information which were treasured up in his memory. He also was the director of that important vehicle of information the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter.'

"There are many who still remember Mr. Macaulay's stooping figure, his entangled utterance, and neglected dress; but within these there dwelt the spirit of a hero, and a heart glowing with love for God and man. From the moment of his embracing the Abolition cause, till the day of his death, he flinched neither from toil nor privations; neither from obloquy nor persecution; but sacrificed himself with the whole of his personal hopes, to advancing the cause of humanity. The privacy of his course was only chequered by occasional bursts of animosity, from those who felt their defeat to be in a great measure owing to his silent but steady exertions. To labour and suffer without prospect of gain or applause, in the simple hope of alleviating the miseries of others, was the lot in life that he cheerfully fulfilled. There may be more graceful and attractive careers—can there be one of more solemn grandeur? Still, however,

Ζεὺς τὸν ἄδηλον ἀεξεῖ,

and we may hope that posterity will grant him that just mead of honour, which during his life was denied him."

REMINISCENCES.

BY THOMAS STURGE.

In bringing about the abolition of Slavery, there was one master-mind constantly and perseveringly at work, who moved all the great men to whom the honour is given of having brought about this great event. But great and valuable as were the labours of those eminent men, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Stephen, Buxton, Brougham, and others, and later in the day, Daniel O'Connell, who, whatever his deficiency in other respects may be, must have the full credit of steadily using his influence to put an end to this mighty evil. Yet this one man, endowed with rare abilities, was he to whom all looked for direction and advice in every important movement, and without whose persevering efforts during a long course of years, it is probable the abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies would at this day have remained a work to be done. This talented individual had no regard for aught save the accomplishment of the object, and so long as the cause was advanced he was happy. Zachary Macaulay was that man. It is respecting him I propose to give some account, because while his efforts were so great, yet he had the happiness of getting through his work without being overburthened with fame.

From an early period Zachary Macaulay battled against the iniquity of Slavery.

He was Governor of the Colony of Sierra Leone, at the beginning of the first French revolution, when it was captured by France. To obtain positive evidence of the horrors of the middle passage, he sailed as passenger in a Slaver from the coast of Africa to the West Indies.—While there he made himself fully acquainted with the miseries and oppressions of the negroes. In his retentive memory and powerful mind was stored all that came under his notice, and he possessed and kept up so full and clear a knowledge of the West India islands, that whenever an account of any particular act of oppression was received, he at once was in the habit of saying,—that estate is in such a district, and such is the character of the manager on that property.

After the abolition of the English Slave Trade in 1802, the African Institution (to which Zachary Macaulay was secretary) gradually declined, and the friend of the negro fondly hoped and expected that as there was no further importation of slaves, the planters would treat their slaves with so much kindness, that by the increase of population they would gradually become free, and in this happy delusion all further efforts appeared to cease, and the renewal and long continuance of the war with Napoleon absorbed the nation's attention. But Zachary Macaulay was not asleep. He surveyed the mighty influence of the West India planters and merchants and their well united efforts to maintain their power. Some idea of their strength may be formed, when it is known that they commanded two hundred votes in the English Parliament, and that they raised about £20,000 annually for purposes of corruption, by a collection made on all imports from the West Indies. To succeed in freeing the slave, it was needful to lay a deep and secure foundation, and he occupied himself while carrying on his mercantile affairs, in gaining information on every subject that could be made useful to overthrow the abomination of Slavery. He believed free labour was cheaper than slave labour. To establish this important fact by the assistance of some of the holders of East India Stock, he got a motion carried in the India House for a return of the mode of cultivating sugar in the different residencies in India. The result was the production of a Blue Book, containing a most perfect account of the cultivation of the sugar cane, the manufacture of sugar, and a detailed account of the cost to the minutest fraction of every operation. Eight shillings, per one hundred and twelve pounds, is about the average cost of sugar in the different residencies of India.

Zachary Macaulay well knew that to succeed in establishing a case against the evils of Slavery, it would be useless to rely on the evidence of individuals, because whatever truth they might tell, there would be no lack of others who would come forward and deny that any evil existed, and who would boldly and unhesitatingly swear that the slaves were in every respect well used, happy, and contented. In this difficulty he fixed on a plan by which to obtain incontrovertible evidence, official in character, and drawn from the planters themselves.—In following out this object he proceeded cautiously, and, at different times, his friends in the House of Commons moved for returns of the quantity of sugar and other produce made in the different colonies,—of the number of adult negroes, distinguishing the sexes, and the number of children of a given age, the number of births and deaths annually, and other returns respecting punishments. This system of moving for returns was continued during several years, without the object being discovered, till the time arrived to make use of it; and then it was impossible for the West India body to rebut it.

About the year 1823, it was resolved to endeavour to rouse public attention to the evils of Slavery, in order to its abolition, and Clarkson again took the field, and visited all the principal places where he thought an interest in the subject could be revived, and local committees formed. About this time, the writer, who knew Zachary Macaulay, called on him. During the conversation, Macaulay complained that he could not prevail on some of the old members of the African Society to take an interest in the subject, and he especially regretted that he could not get William Allen to take an active part; and said that from his well known character both as a benevolent man and a man of science, it was essential to obtain his aid. At length a meeting of the friends of the cause was appointed to be held at the King's Head, Poultry. Clarkson was present, with about thirty other persons; and the writer, hearing of the meeting, though uninvited, went and seated himself by the door. At this meeting it was resolved to form a committee for the abolition of Slavery; but so great were the fears of some, lest an insurrection of the negroes should occur, attended with slaughter and bloodshed, that it was insisted upon that it must be preceded by a course of preparation for Freedom, and that the society should be called a Society for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery. Those who had no fear of the slaves being set free too soon, did not contend this point, and glad of all the help they could get, permitted the timid to have their way. The committee formed this day, mustered about thirty names, took an office in Aldermanbury, elected a paid Secretary, held a few meetings at which Clarkson was present, divided themselves into subcommittees of correspondence, publication and finance, and laid down their plans of action. For a few weeks there was an average attendance of about a dozen: and now commenced that steady war against Slavery, by the publication of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, written entirely by Zachary Macaulay. To the committee he brought and read over what he had written, which consisted generally in facts taken out of the official returns to Parliament; with his observations and reflections thereon. It was soon found dry work to sit and hear these reports read, as the language was carefully guarded so as not to throw any undue reflection on individual planters or others, and was entirely directed against the system of Slavery, and had for its object to make the public thoroughly acquainted with its iniquitous nature. The Committee resolved they should be published, but the attendance of members soon fell off sadly, and for a long time, with occasional intervals, the acting committee consisted of Zachary Macaulay, the secretary, and the writer. At this small committee, the chief business to be done was to read answers to the letters which were sent out, generally asking for subscriptions, and urging the formation of local committees, and to hear Zachary Macaulay read what he had written for publication.—This was an easy task, and Zachary Macaulay particularly requested of his one auditor, that if he should have made use of any harsh or unkind expression, it might be pointed out. There was little occasion for any correction of this sort, and generally as soon as the reading was finished, this skeleton of a committee ordered the same to be printed, published, and forwarded for sale to the different local associations. Occasionally, but not often, there would be a larger attendance, particularly when individual members wished to propose some measure which they thought would advance the cause. Especially was this the case when those in Parliament thought it desirable to do battle in the House of Commons. Many have been the occasions when different plans have been proposed to bring Slavery to an end, and the subject has been discussed in the writer's presence. On these occasions it was that the master-mind of Macaulay appeared. For instance, it was proposed at one time that a period should be fixed at which Slavery should cease. At another time it was proposed that all female children born, should be free; that all children from after a certain time, or attaining a certain age, should be free. To all and every one of these plans Macaulay answered most conclusively, and showed the utter impossibility of carrying them out, and he constantly and successfully contended that no measure would or could be effectual that should not put an end to the Slavery of young and old at one and the same time. So hopeless did the cause appear to some, that the writer well remembers on one particular occasion when it was proposed that Slavery should be brought to an end in a certain fixed period, that a benevolent individual who earnestly desired its extinction, expressed his willingness to agree with the Government that the system should end in thirty years. The injustice of such a contract roused his indignation, and he replied that none possessed the right to bargain for the continuance of the system of oppression for a single day. Thus things went on languidly and slowly for a long period, but all this while Macaulay was never discouraged, nor did he ever abate in his devoted application to the subject. On the contrary, his application was if possible, greater, for it was his common practice to begin to write at four o'clock in the morning, and to devote his whole attention to the subject. At one time, the late James Cropper, entertaining the opinion that free labour was cheaper than slave labour, proposed that a company should be formed to encourage the cultivation of sugar and cotton in the East Indies. The plan was good, and the number of those who were ready to engage in this commercial enterprise was great. Macaulay, thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the East, heartily embraced the plan, and a committee consisting of himself, Cropper, the writer and a secretary set to work. One of their first measures was to write to different mercantile houses in India, to whom they sent letters directing their attention to the advantages they might derive from encouraging the production of sugar in India, together with the improvement to be made in its manufacture; and in their zeal they even purchased a sugar-mill and boiling-pans, and sent them out. In reply to their letters they were told that sugar could not be made at the cheap rate supposed. Macaulay immediately set to work and made extracts from the official reports made to the India House, and specified the different places in India where sugar was made, with a detailed account of the process and cost from the cultivation of the cane to the completion of the sugar. A large number of these extracts were printed and sent out, and after a time the reply was, that on due enquiry made, the printed account was correct.

While this was going on, the West India body, finding themselves so seriously assailed, formed a plan to strengthen themselves, and they proposed to establish a large chartered company to cultivate their estates, and applied to Parliament for an Act of Incorporation. It was already seen that a charter would be needful to cultivate sugar by free labour in the East, and as the West India body was strong, and the free labour body weak, it was resolved to wait the result of the application for a charter on the part of the West Indians. It was rejected and of course it was useless for the free labour association to apply for a charter. This free labour scheme was abandoned. But although given up, the result was not by any means lost, inasmuch as the information respecting the cultivation of sugar in the East, was there so extensively diffused, that the attention of the merchants in India were directed to it, and in the end led to the present extended production of sugar in those territories. Nor were Macaulay's efforts limited to this alone, but he pointed out forcibly the injustice of charging the higher duty of ten to twelve pounds per ton on sugar, the produce of free labour in the East, than was charged on that raised by slave labour in the West Indies. This was a commercial question, and of course received the support of East India merchants, who now, alive to the advantages of the sugar trade, joined in application to Parliament, and after a while succeeded in getting the sugar duties equalized. The West India body were well aware who their powerful foe was, and were very anxious by any means to put him down; and it so fell out about this time when many Anti-Slavery Committees had been held where the whole proceeding consisted chiefly in Macaulay's reading over his Reporter, that the writer thought it was of little importance that he should attend, and on his calling one day to tell the Secretary that he thought of being absent at the next Committee, the Secretary, T. Prinsle said, "Oh! I forget: Mr. Macaulay told me to say he particularly wished you to attend, as something of importance is coming on." The surprise of the writer was great, when at the next Committee he met some who were little in the habit of being present, who, on rising, brought forward certain slanderous charges against the integrity of Zachary Macaulay in respect to the trade of his house in Africa; charges raised at the instance of his enemies in the West India body, and designed to render his efforts for the abolition of Slavery useless. To these evil reports these honest, weak-minded men gave credence. Powerful as Macaulay was in argument, yet his voice was not strong; but he indignantly repelled the accusation, and it fell to the lot of the writer to defend him, and to rebuke these weak but well-meaning men in strong language.

The West Iddia body started a West India Reporter in reply to the Anti-Slavery Reporter. On the first number making its appearance, Macaulay rejoiced at the opportunity it gave him of refuting their statements, which he did so effectually, that only about three numbers made their appearance, and it was given up as a damage to their cause.

The long-continued publication of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, began at length to produce an effect. Deep thinking men read it and an increased interest in favour of Abolition became apparent. The committees were better attended, and increased to an average of ten or twelve, sometimes more. The case of the persecution of Smith, the missionary, who died in prison at Demerara, gave a great impulse to the cause. Numbers of dissenters began to interest themselves, and their missionaries could no longer be restrained from making the truth known. Heretofore many had been restrained from speaking the whole truth, lest their missionary efforts in the colonies should be hindered,—but all would not do. They were aware what the Society for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery was doing, and in the colonies they felt the evils of Slavery, and missionaries dared to speak out. Elizabeth Heyrick, of Leicester, wrote a strong but short pamphlet,—"Not Gradual but Immediate Emancipation." At this Macaulay greatly rejoiced, and at the next committee (present Macaulay, the Secretary, and the writer,) it was resolved to drop the word Gradual, and head it "Reporter of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery." It was moved and adopted without comment.

Ever alive to avail himself of every means to break down the power of the West India body, Macaulay's attention was next drawn to the bounty allowed on the exportation of refined sugar; and here a singular state of things existed. The price paid by the exporter for refined sugar, was less than the price paid for the raw sugar by the sugar-refiner. On examining this subject, it was found that the sugar-refiner and the West India body had made out to the Government, that from every hundred weight of raw sugar put into the pan of the refiner, only about fifty-six pounds of refined sugar was obtained, and on this fifty-six an amount of bounty was allowed equal to the duty charged on the one hundred twelve pounds of raw sugar.

Many years before the improvements in sugar-refining were introduced, it might be a correct estimate; but at this period it was so incorrect, that the rate of bounty allowed on refined sugar exported was equal to a tax on the public of about one and one fourth million for the benefit of the Planter. It was important to the Government to save all they could. The Prime Minister was made acquainted with the fact, a chemist was appointed by the Government to investigate it, and the result was such an alteration in the bounty on the exportation of the refined sugar as was equal to the duty paid. This was a serious blow to the West India interest, because it left more sugar to be consumed in the home market at a lower price—but to the public only justice. The war against Slavery now waxed hotter, the West India body grew weaker. Many who wished for the abolition of Slavery became impatient that something effectual should be done. The present Sir George Stephen, who inherited a fixed hatred of Slavery—a man of great energy—boldly called for the immediate abolition of Slavery, and had large placards posted up to call public meetings to discuss the subject. He was well supported, and he advertised for lecturers to travel over the country and lecture on the subject. Baldwin, a man of fixed determination, and the eloquent George Thompson were engaged, and the battle waxed stronger and stronger. The West India body on their side, had engaged a powerful but not scrupulous writer to abuse the Abolitionists—McQueen. This he did right well. But it was of little avail—abuse does not convince. The horrors and evils of Slavery became known, the public was roused, and a deputation from the different towns in England was appointed to meet in London. They met, and all were urgent in demanding the immediate abolition of Slavery; and in their zeal they sent a demand to the Abolition Committee to unite with them on conditions prescribed. The Abolition Committee had now to act with great prudence; they were alive to the dangerous position of the question, and at the same time were anxious not to do anything which might prevent the delegates from obtaining their object. On the deliberation they sent an answer to the deputies to say they thought they should best serve the cause of the negro by continuing to act separately. Their reason for this was, that they were well aware that in order to secure freedom to the negro, it was of the greatest importance that laws should be passed to prevent his being oppressed by vagrant or other acts after his freedom was obtained. The Government respected the original Abolition Society, gave them ready facility of communication, and willingly framed the desired enactments. I should, however, have mentioned one important fact, which was, that for the support of themselves, the West India body obtained a Committee of the House of Lords. This was a sad cause of delay and expense, but Sir G. Stephen attended to cross examine witnesses. But little hope existed of a favourable result to the negro. The Duke of Richmond, who has extensive property in the West Indies, was chairman, and other Lords were largely interested. The investigation was long, and while it was going on, there arrived in this country a little, insignificant, poor, timid man, by profession a Methodist. But insignificant as he appeared, he was a right true man. He had gone out to the West Indies as a clerk or book-keeper. Directly on his arrival he was well received by his fellows, who lost no time in proposing to him to live in the same iniquitous way they did. Right principled, he revolted at the sinful course proposed. He saw the horrid cruelty of Slavery, and resolved immediately to get away from such a region of iniquity This was no easy matter, as he was without means; but nevertheless, he contrived to reach England, and was found out by the Secretary; and as his evidence was simple and good, he was induced to attend as a witness before the Lords' Committee. He there spoke of what he had experienced and seen. After his examination was over, the Duke of Richmond wished to see him at his house next morning to converse with him, which he did, and the result of the Lords' Committee was against the existence of Slavery, and in favour of the negro. A short account of what come under the notice of this poor but right-minded witness, was printed, and it had a great effect. You will naturally wish to know what became of such a man, and what was done for him. This is not easily told, for he was one of those timid, meek men, to whose happiness it seems essential that they should escape the notice of their fellow men, and be lost in the crowd.

You may wish to know what part the writer took in this great battle. The answer must be, very little indeed. Placed beside a man of such great ability it was little he could do, but at last he discovered that his case was like that of the old woman to whom Gibbon was in the habit of reading his works, viz: to listen, to be consulted, and to sanction what Macaulay proposed. When the battle was won, the writer, in talking over the subject with Macaulay, declared this to be his conviction. The reply was, "You were of the greatest possible use to me, for when you approved I had so full reliance on your judgment, that I was always confident in going on."

By this we may learn that all men have their proper place. It is not for all men to appear as prominent actors; the position of some is simply to hear, and approve or disapprove; and as long as their part is duly performed, they may be well content. The great and powerful are supported by the weak as well as by the strong.

"You might have dissembled your love,
But why did you kick me down stairs."

On the announcement to General Cass, at Washington of his nomination by the Baltimore Convention for the Presidency, he is reported to have said, "I am as good as chosen President of the United States." But the result has proved that his confidence either in himself or in the people was misplaced. Like the office-seeker who waited upon President Madison, and after being denied all office, from a seat in the Cabinet down to the village Post-office, humbly begged of Mr. President an old pair of breeches, General Cass, having lost the Presidency, signified his willingness to accept again the seat in the Senate which he was foolish enough to voluntarily relinquish. He has been accordingly nominated by a Democratic caucus of the Michigan Legislature, but the Legislature itself, following the precedent which had recently been given them, have declined the nomination. The election of Senator has been indefinitely postponed, and the following resolutions, offered in the Senate, rejected:

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, That we believe the institution of Slavery to be a great *moral, political* and *social evil*, destructive of the happiness and best interest of both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Resolved, Therefore, that it should be spoken against, discouraged and opposed by all good and wise men, and *prevented* by all just and legal means in their power, which would not be likely to produce *a still greater evil*.

Resolved, That we have entire confidence in the soundness of the legal opinion pronounced by numerous eminent statesmen and jurists of *all parties*, both North and South, "That the institution of Slavery cannot legally exist in any of the Territories of the United States, without express legal enactment, authorising it therein." On this *position*, and on the *ability, firmness*, and *virtue* of the United States Court we are willing and *desire* to rest this *great disturbing question*.

Resolved, That thus believing, we are opposed to the passage by Congress of any law either permitting or prohibiting Slavery in the Territories, as unnecessary and dangerous to the peace and harmony of this happy Union. A law prohibiting that institution, would be a law against the solemn protest and dissent of the *whole South*. One permitting it, would be against the equally solemn protest and dissent of the *whole North*. Such a fearful issue we are not willing should be made, if, as in this case, it can be avoided.

Resolved, accordingly, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to carry out and sustain the positions contained in the foregoing resolutions by all just means in their power; and that the Governor of this State be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

Strong Anti-Slavery resolutions, on the other hand, have been passed, and Governor Ransom, a Free Soil Democrat, it is supposed, will be chosen Senator, when a choice shall be made. The fate of Hannegan of Indiana, Hudson of Massachusetts, and General Cass, will not be lost upon the tribe of dough-faces at Washington.

The Resolutions, which passed both the House and Senate by a large majority, are as follows:

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, that we consider the result of the late war with Mexico in the acquisition of the Territories of New Mexico and California, as an enduring monument to the honour of our gallant army—regulars and volunteers—officers and soldiers, and that we rejoice in the prospect of extending over that once enslaved country, the beneficent laws and institutions of a Free People.

Resolved, That we are in favour of the fundamental principles of the Ordinance of 1787—and although we have entire confidence in the opinion of many Statesmen and Jurists, and believe with them that Slavery is a mere local institution, which cannot exist without positive laws authorising its existence—*yet as friends of freedom to all mankind*—and as an earnest of the *sincerity* of our professions, we believe that Congress has the power, and that it is their duty to prohibit by legislative enactment, the introduction or existence of Slavery within any of the Territories of the United States now or hereafter to be acquired, where the same is not authorised by local laws.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our representatives requested to use all honourable means to accomplish the objects expressed in the foregoing resolution, and that the Governor of this State be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

North Carolina on Slavery.

The *Raleigh Standard* reports the proceedings of the House of Commons of North Carolina, on a series of Resolutions upon the absorbing topic of the day.

Most of the Resolutions were adopted unanimously, and the largest vote against any of them was 4 against the third. They are as follows:

Resolved, That the States came into the Union as equals; and that the citizens of each State are entitled to equal rights, privileges and immunities, under the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the Covention by which the Federal Constitution was framed, clearly demonstrate that the institution of Slavery was maturely considered; and that the Union of the States was finally secured by incorporating into that instrument distinct and ample guarantees of the rights of the slaveholder.

Resolved, That we view with deep concern the constant aggression on the rights of the slaveholder by certain reckless politicians of the North; and that the recent proceedings of Congress on the subject of Slavery are fraught with mischief, well calculated to disturb the peace of our country, and should call forth the earnest and prompt disapprobation of every friend of the Union.

Resolved, That the enactment of any law by Congress which shall directly or indirectly deprive the citizens of any of the States of the right of emigrating with their slave property into any of the Territories of the United States, and of exercising ownership of the same while in said Territories, will be an act not only of gross injustice and wrong, but the exercise of power contrary to the true meaning and spirit of the Constitution, and never contemplated by the framers thereof.

Resolved, That, while we do not intend hereby to be understood as conceding that Congress has the power under the Constitution, to enact a law prohibiting Slavery in any portion of the Territories of the United States; yet, for the sake of preserving the peace and promoting the perpetuity of the Union, we are willing that the basis of the Missouri Compromise should be adopted in reference to the recently-acquired Territories of Mexico and California, by extending the line then agreed upon to the Pacific Ocean.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be signed by the speakers of the Senate and House of Commons, and forwarded to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, with a request that they be laid before their respective houses.

CLERICAL INFALLIBILITY.—One sometimes meets with a clergyman whose character is written all over him, from the crown of a hat, a thought short of the latest fashion, down to the end of pantaloons which just miss of being of the latest curve allowed by the fashion plate for the month. Of course the neckcloth is of the whitest, and seven a week are charged in his laundress bill, or spread on the parsonage clothes-horse; and they possess a marvellous delicacy of tie, with a stiffness either of starch, or of pad, which adjusts the head to precisely that angle which permits the line of vision to take in the tops of most peoples' heads, and saves them from being run over. The face above these immaculate and never-rumpled cravats has always a slightly plethoric look, owing partly to the pad, and partly to good feeding; is innocent of any particular expression, except that of perfect self-satisfaction, and that sort of good temper which does not care enough for others ever to be ruffled by them; and is always surmounted by gold-bowed spectacles. The head is as round as a bullet, with about as much in it, slightly bald, always with black hair coaxed into curls about the temples. The person inclines to fatness, fed evidently on such food as, according to Liebeg, contains very little of the constituent parts of bone and muscle, and may be said vulgarly to approach to the flabby. There is nevertheless muscle enough in the legs for a firm tread, and they walk upon the earth as though it and the fulness thereof was made to be tithed, and the poor creatures upon it for nothing but to pay salaries. With these gentlemen week days were made for parochial visits, except when the weather ventures to be unpleasant, and Sundays were created not so much that the world should rest and be taught, as that they should preach—it matters little what, so that there is preaching. If they ever depart from this round of duties it is to march in processions on gala-days as the 'reverend clergy.' Who does not meet one of these comfortable parsons in his path on all fine days, or hear his beating on the 'drum ecclesiastic' somewhere in his neighbourhood?

A late number of the *Independent* publishes an extract of a letter which must have been written by one of them. It is a reply to a kindly exhortation from an old townsman that he—the clergyman—who had removed to the South, should be careful not to permit a residence in the midst of Slavery to lead him to compromise a testimony against that wrong. We have rarely seen anything more in keeping with the character of a large class of our reverend fellow-citizens—if we may be permitted to designate them by so familiar a term:

"Now, as to your letter. It was a combination of arrogance, self-conceit, and dictation, which I have never seen equalled in the annals of correspondence. None but a narrow-minded and bigoted Puritan could have had the effrontery to have penned such a scroll. A *layman*, and one too, who can make no pretensions to an enlarged mind or education, presuming to dictate to a minister and charge him how he shall preach the Gospel. Who has suddenly transformed you into an apostle, and commissioned you to take the oversight of Christ's ministers? Had any one of my own fellow-presbyters written me as you have, I would have rebuked him. Had a bishop even, of any other diocese than the one in which I am labouring, written in such a strain, I would have arraigned him.—None but my own diocesan has any right to instruct me how I shall preach; and not even he has found any occasion to warn me. I am a regular commissioned minister of Christ; and if you wish to be taught respecting any of your duties as a Christian, I am appointed to instruct you. But no layman has Christ ever appointed to teach his ministers, and sure I am that he has not you. You have overstepped your limits. You have gone beyond the lines which circumscribe your responsibilities as a layman, and the ark of God, my dear friend, though it were tottering, you have no right to lay your hands upon—it is awful presumption. Recollect the punishment of Uzzah and Ahio—and keep your hands off the ark. You may advise laymen, but not *teach them*—much less may you presume to dictate pastoral letters to the Christian ministry.

"Now, my good friend, I am not angry—I am not even indignant. If any feeling is uppermost in me, it is to laugh at the unmeasured conceit and self-esteem which your letter exhibits, and which is often found in narrow-minded, self willed and bigotted Puritans. Much love to yourself and family; and when you write again, write as becometh your station and attainments, and I will answer you accordingly."

DOUGH-FACES.—The Washington Correspondent of the *Evening Post*, groups together the names of the 40 members from the Free States who voted against the Resolutions of Mr. Gott for the abolition of Slavery in the District. Such lists are useful for reference and we copy this one. Such men should not be forgotten.

Maine—Messrs. Clapp, Clarke, Hammons, Wiley, Williams—5.
Massachusetts—Grinnell—1.
Connecticut—Trueman Smith—1.
New York—Birdsall, Lord, Murphy, Nicoll, Tallmadge—5
New Jersey—Van Dyke—1.
Pennsylvania—Brady, Bridge, Broodhead, C. Brown, Butler, Eckert, C. J. Ingersoll, Irvin, Kennon, Levin, Mann, Ness, Pollock—12.
Ohio—Canby, Miller, Richey, Sawyer, Taylor Vinton—6.
Indiana—Dunn, C. B. Smith, Thompson, Wick—4.
Illinois—Lincoln, Richardson—2.
Michigan—Stuart—1.

THE PHILADELPHIA DAILY REPUBLIC, after an existence of about three months, was issued for the last time on the 19th instant. We are sorry that the cause of the 'good time coming' in general, and Free Soil in particular should lose therein one of its ablest advocates. Dr Elder has edited the *Republic*, not only with talent that must have commanded the respect of his opponents, but in a catholic spirit which ought to have, and probably has, won for him the regard of those who agree with him as to certain proposed ends, but differ as to the means of attaining them. There was a sparkle about his paper, which, though perhaps not always the shine of the true metal, was in exceedingly agreeable contrast to the respectable dullness which some good people think is a necessary and inseparable quality of morality.

☞ We copy on the first page a long letter from Henry C. Carey to Nathan Appleton of Boston, which fallacious as it is in argument, and objectionable in spirit, will nevertheless command attention. The only thing which, to our mind, it proves conclusively is that the slave interest finds its natural ally in the cotton-making, and high tariff interest of the North. The Whigs will fall into their natural position now that they are relieved from a sort of necessity of opposition to the Slave-power by ceasing to be the minority party. The article is copied from the *Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil*, which is however none the less valuable a publication because it gives this letter to the world.

DELAWARE.—In the Senate of Delaware on the 16th instant, Mr. Burnham presented a petition of 490 citizens of New Castle county praying for the abolition of Slavery. It was referred to a Committee who reported against the prayer of the petitioners, on the ground that it is inexpedient to legislate on the subject at present. They refused however to express any opinion upon the question of emancipation.

THE JOSEPH BELT CASE AGAIN.—Clayton, the policeman of Brooklyn, in whose possession Joseph Belt was found by officers Hulse and Woolven, on Long Island, brought an action, last week, against these two persons for false imprisonment. They arrested Clayton as a kidnapper, when found with Belt, without a warrant, and their counsel contended that they had a right to do so, as by the Revised Statutes, kidnapping was a felony. Justice Garrison sustained their right to do so, and dismissed the case. We hope next week to give a report of his decision.

CAN A CHATTEL STEAL?—This question has been decided by a Cherokee jury in a case of what is known at the South as negro stealing, and an important principle thereby settled. One negro was accused of stealing another, and his counsel made in the course of a long speech the following hits, which did the business with the jury:

"It is impossible said he for one slave to steal another; yes, gentlemen of the jury, I say it is impossible for one negro to steal another negro. Suppose, gentlemen of the jury, my horse should get out of the lot and run away, and go by the house of John A. Bell, and his horse should follow mine off, would you hang my horse for stealing John A. Bell's horse? No-o gentlemen of the jury, you would'nt do such thing."

COLONIZATION MEETING AT WASHINGTON.—The Colonization Society held its annual meeting at Washington on Tuesday evening of last week. The Secretary reported that the number of emigrants to Liberia for the past year was 443, of which 326 were liberated slaves, and 117 free coloured persons. The number of applications in 1840, for a passage out, was only 157.

The receipts of the society for the year were $50,114,37
Expenditures, ... 51,939,69

Excess of expenditures, ... $1,825,32

The Society have 600 applications for passage out, this year, of liberated slaves, and expect 500 more.

The meeting was addressed by various speakers, and among them Mr. McLane, Mr. C. from Maryland, who offered the following Resolutions. Their adoption is the last official announcement of the Pro-Slavery character of the Society, though very few intelligent persons, we presume, have any doubt of that.

Whereas, Slavery, as existing in the United States, is a local and municipal institution, and so recognized and respected by the Constitution; therefore,

Resolved, (substantially,) That all interference with this institution, in any way disrespecting its local character and the municipal sovereignity over it, should be firmly resisted by the States in which it exists.

Resolved, That the efforts of the Colonization Society, for the emancipation and restoration of the black race, are honourable, humane, and strictly consistent with the Constitution and the municipal rights of the States.

☞ We regret to learn from the *New Bedford Mercury* that the house of the Rev. Mr. Weiss, in that town, was recently consumed by fire, his valuable library partially destroyed, and all that was saved of it very much injured. No temporal loss to such a man as Mr. Weiss could equal that of the loss of his books.

HON. W. DUER, M. C. will accept our thanks for the valuable Report of last year from the Patent Office.

Our acknowledgments are due to HON. JOHN DIX for the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury at the present Session of Congress.

CLEAR AS MUD.—The *Morning Star*, a penny paper of this city, has the following paragraph:

DOUGLASS.—Lady Byron has made Frederick Douglass a present of ten pounds, which has been forwarded by Mrs. Chapman, of Boston, now in Paris. Fanny Kemble Butler is an acquaintence of Lady Byron, and Mrs. Chapman is also an acquaintance of Lady Byron. When it is recollected that Mrs. Chapman is a violent champion of the Woman's Rights doctrines, we may learn to sympathize with Pierce Butler.

Certainly if this gets out in Philadelphia it will settle Mrs. Butler's case.

☞ Governor Briggs of Massachusetts, in his annual message says that that State "occupies no equivocal position" upon the subject of the extension of Slavery. The best evidence he could have adduced in proof of it, is that he was not chosen Governor by the People at the last election.

Congressional.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

IN THE SENATE—On the 17th. Mr. Niles, of Conn. according to previous notice, moved to take up the order of the day, which was the bill for the reduction of postage, which was agreed to. The bill provides for the establishment of the following rates, viz:—on letters not exceeding half an ounce, and for all distances, pre-paid 3 cents; and if not pre-paid 5 cents; and for all drop letters 1 cent. For newspapers of one ounce in weight, over 50 miles, one cent; under 50 half a cent; daily papers same rates, allowing an ounce and a half; for all foreign letters, 15 cents each. The bill abolishes the franking privilege. The letters of members of Congress, not exceeding one ounce, on public business, are to be paid for out of the contingent fund. Public documents are to go free, as now.

A great variety of amendments were offered, and many of them agreed to. The amendment exempting exchange papers, was adopted.

IN THE HOUSE—On the same day. Mr. Collins presented a resolution of the Legislature of New York, for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, which was ordered to be printed.

IN THE HOUSE—August 14th. The Pacheco Slave case was taken up. Mr. Toombs of Ga. being entitled to the floor, earnestly explained the merits of the case. He stated that much misapprehension had prevailed with regard to its character. He said that neither party in point of argument were entirely right, that a question wholly foreign to the case had been brought into the discussion, and so much dwelt upon as to prevent a clear understanding of its just claims. He then proceeded to produce precedents and authorities from grievous legislation of Congress &c. to show that Congress had no power to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia. Mr. Toombs, and then called for the previous question, which was sustained.

Judge DUER of N. Y. obtained the floor and briefly required to a single point adduced by Mr. Toombs, and then called for the previous question, which was sustained.

The question of reconsidering the bill was then put to the House and the Yeas and Nays demanded and decided in the affirmative, by Yeas 106 Nays 92.

The friends of the bill immediately called and carried the Proviso Question, defeating a call of the House, and the bill passed by the following Yea and Nay Vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, Atkinson, Barringer, Barrow, Beale, Bedinger, *Birdsall, Bocock, Botts, Bowlin, Boyd, Boyden, *Brady, *Bridges, * Brodhead, Wm. G. Brown, *Charles Brown, Albert G. Brown, Buckner, Burt, Cabell, Chapman, *Clapp, *Franklin Clark, B. L. Clark, Clingman, H. Cobb, W. R. W. Cobb, Cocke, Crisfield, Crozier, *Cummins, Daniel, Donnell, G. Duncan, *Dunn, Featherston, Flournoy, French, Fulton, Gaines, Goggin, Green, W. P. Hall, *Hammons, Haralson, Harris, Hill, Hilliard, I. E. Holmes, G. S. Houston, J. W. Houston, Inge, *C. J. Ingersoll, A. Johnson, G. W. Jones, J. W. Jones, Kaufman, T. B. King, La Sere, *Levis, Ligon, Lumpkin, *Lynde, *Maclay, *McClernand, McDowell, McKay, McLane, *J. Mann, Meade, Morehead, Morse, *Murphy, *Nicoll, Outlaw, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Pillsbury, Preston, Rhett, *Richardson, *Richey, Shepperd, Stanton, Stephens, *Tallmadge, *Taylor, Thomas, James Thompson, R. A. Thompson, J. B. Thompson, Tompkins, Toombs, Venable, *Wick, Williams, Woodward—101.

*From Free States.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbott, Ashmun, Belcher, Bingham, Blackmar, Blanchard, Canby, Cathcart, Collamer, Collins, Conger, Cranston, Crowell, Darling, Dickey, Dickinson, Dixon, Duer, Eckert, Edwards, Embree, N. Evans, Faran, Farelly, Fisher, Freedley, Fries, Giddings, Gott, Greeley, Gregory, N. K. Hall, J. G. Hampton, Henley, Henry, Hubbard, Hudson, Hunt, Irvin, Jenkins, J. H. Johnson, Kellog, Kennon, D. P. King, Lahm, W. T. Lawrence, S. Lawrence, Lincoln, Lord, McClelland, McIlvaine, H. Mann, Marsh, Marvin, Miller, Morris, Mullin, Nelson, Nes, Newell, Palfrey, Peaslee, Peck, Petrie, Pettit, Pollock, Putnam, Reynolds, Robinson, Rockhill, J. Rockwell, J. A. Rockwell, Root, Rumsey, St. John, Sawyer, Schenck, Sherrill, Smart, C. B. Smith, R. Smith, T. Smith, Starkweather, C. E. Stuart, Strohm, Thurston, Tuck, Turner, Vinton, Warren, Wentworth, White, Wilmot, Wilson, M. Hampton—95.

RECAPITULATION.

For the bill—From Slave States..	75	Free States.....	26
Against the bill—Free States....	95	Slave States.....	0
Absent—Slave States.....	15	Free States,.....	17
Whigs from Free States voting Yea	6	Lo

Poetry.

PSALM.

BY MARTIN LUTHER.

A safe stronghold our God is still,
A trusty shield and weapon;
He'll help us clear from all the ill
That hath us now o'er taken.
The ancient Prince of Hell
Hath risen with purpose fell;
Strong mail of craft and power
He weareth in this hour:
On earth is not his fellow.

With force of arms we nothing can;
Full soon were we down-ridden,
But for us fights the proper man,
Whom God himself hath bidden.
Ask ye, who is this same?
Christ Jesus is his name,
The Lord Zebaoth's Son:
He and no other one,
Shall conquer in the battle.

And were this world all devils o'er
And waiting to devour us,
We lay it not to heart so sore,
Not they can overpower us.
And let the Prince of Ill
Look grim as e'er he will,
He harms us not a whit:
For why? His doom is writ,
A word shall quickly slay him.

God's word, for all their craft and force,
One moment will not linger,
But, spite of Hell, shall have its course:
'Tis written by his finger.
And though they take our life,
Goods, honour, children, wife,
Yet is their profit small:
These things shall vanish all,
The City of God remaineth.

[*Longfellow's Poets and Poetry of Europe.*]

A CHAUNT FOR CHRISTMAS DAY.

BY ELIZA COOK.

The scythe of Time is mowing
Another swarthe of Life
And the seed that we've been sowing—
Grain of Peace, or tares of Strife—
Has been gathered safe and fast
In the garner of the Past,
To lie for ever!

Have we done the best we could
With the ways and means we hold?
Have we wrought the things we should
With our judgment or our gold?
Have we played our mortal part
By hand, or brain, or heart,
With fair endeavour?

The steeple pulses beating
With rapid strokes of mirth,
Loudly tell our days are fleeting,
Like molten snow, from earth;
And the fitful carol strain
Is a warning once again
To the soul!

Have we dozed among the sleepers?
Have we stirred among the quick?
Have we comforted the weepers?
Have we watched beside the sick?
Have we dwelt in open kindness?
Or groped in selfish blindness,
Like the mole?

Come, let us ask our bosoms
If we earnestly have sought
To nurture all the blossoms
In our pathway, as we ought?
Let us ask if we are giving
As much love to all the living
As we can?

'Tis a fitting hour to reckon
Not only yellow store;
For passing old years beckon
Where no wealth can win the shore:
'Tis a day for Age and Youth,
To sum up their debts of Truth
To God and Man!

The glossy branches twining
In beauty o'er our head;
They are but garlands shining
In a pomp that greets the dead.
And a trace of holy gloom
Makes a temple of the room
Where they are seen.

Let the feasting and the drinking
Be as goodly as it may;
Yet the wise ones will be thinking—
As they hail the festal day—
Time is hushing us to rest
As he rocks us on his breast
Of Christmas green!

Year after year is going,
So work while there is light;
Let us keep the rust from growing,
Let us wear our spirit bright,
And 'tis only honest labour,
And the love of friend and neighbour,
Can do this!

So, while Old Time is mowing
Another swarthe of Life,
Let us pledge the cup that's flowing,
To the heart that shuts out strife;
For, amid all selfish blindness,
It is only Peace and Kindness,
Make our bliss.

THERE'S A BAD TIME GOING, OYS.

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going,
We've got our Christmas Bills to pay,
But with them soon will pass away
The bad time going.
Business has been at a stand,
But credit's getting stronger;
Prosperity is now at hand,
Wait a little longer.

Chorus

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going,
There's a bad time going, boys,
Wait a little longer.

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going;
Railway-shares have seemed to be
A sink for all men's property,
In the bad time going.
Lines which used to quarrel then,
To prove whose purse was stronger,
Shall be controlled by honest men;
Wait a little longer.

Chorus—There's a bad time going, boys, &c.

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going,
When men, by right of family,
The public servants claim'd to be,
In the bad time going,
Talent with birth shall fairly cope,
And show itself the stronger;
For its reward it soon may hope—
Wait a little longer.

Chorus—There's a bad time going, boys, &c.

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going;
Silly lordings, free from cares,
Have filled too long official chairs,
In the bad time going.
Turn'd adrift in parks or fields,
Their minds may perhaps grow stronger;
Nepotism slowly yields—
Wait a little longer.

Chorus—There's a bad time going, boys, &c.

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going,
Anarchists intemper
Fair complaint deprived of weight,
In the bad time going.
Sense shall supersede abuse,
And make a strong cause stronger,
True reform it will produce—
Wait a little longer.

Chorus—There's a bad time going, boys, &c.

There's a bad time going, boys, a bad time going,
Help to drive it off who can,
Every woman, child, and man,
The bad time going.
Humblest aid, if rightly given,
Makes the impulse stronger;
Move then, statesmen, ere you're driven;
We can't wait much longer.

Chorus—There's a bad time going, boys, &c.

[*Punch.*]

Miscellany.

It will be remembered, we presume, by all our readers,—we trust we have none so lacking in taste as to pass over any of the letters of our Dublin correspondent—that R. D. Webb, in two of his later letters, has given some interesting particulars of the life and character of Joseph Barker of Leeds, a moral-suasion chartist, and reformer generally. In a late No. of the *Glasgow Examiner and Times*, we find a report of the proceedings on his appearance before the magistrates for his trial, of the result of which Mr. Webb expressed some fears. Mr. Barker, it will be seen, was "too many" for the Attorney-General.

A number of persons were placed at the bar, charged with conspiracy at Manchester, and among them Joseph Barker, when:

The Attorney-General said that, if it met his lordship's concurrence, he proposed to call on the defendants to enter into their recognisances to appear and plead when called on, and to keep the peace for the space of one year. All the prisoners but one (Mr. Joseph Barker) were prepared to enter into their recognisances.

The Judge: Can a man of the name of Barker be so foolish? He must be afflicted with a very morbid vanity. What harm can it be to any person to enter into recognisances to plead?

The whole of the other prisoners, with the exception of Barker, entered into their recognisances to appear and plead, and to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for one year.

The Judge, addressing the defendants, said: If you conduct yourselves peaceably and quietly, you will never be called on to plead at all—this will remain a dead letter, so far as you are concerned; but if, on the other hand, you are guilty of any offence of this description, you will be called on to plead to this indictment. Do take my advice, and conduct yourselves as good subjects of the Queen. They have shown you great mercy, for they might have put you to a deal of trouble, and might possibly have punished you severely. They have thought proper, I am glad to say, to take a lenient course, and I hope it will be fully appreciated by the body of people to whom you belong. I have heard that better times are coming; that work will be more plentiful; and that you will maintain better order. I hope you will behave yourselves and deserve to be better employed in future. The more quiet you keep, the sooner will the work come back.

The Attorney-General applied to have the trial of Barker postponed.

Mr. Matthews, for the defendant, said: Mr. Barker does most strenuously deny that he has been guilty of any offence; but I thought that any difficulty would be avoided, by the Attorney-General not having called on him to plead. Barker is in a respectable station in life; he is a town councillor in Leeds; and he is afraid that the course he is called on to take may imply guilt. I know that it is no such thing.

The Judge: Nobody who has not pleaded guilty, and who has not been tried, ought to be treated as a guilty person. It will not prejudice him in the opinion of any man of common sense, and if I were him, I should despise the opinion of any one else.

Mr. Barker: I am conscious of absolute innocence. I know that there could not be any evidence adduced against me, except such scandalous evidence as that given by Ball. I feel that instead of having injured any one, I myself am an injured person, by the course which has been pursued towards me.

The Judge: If ever you are called on to plead, you will plead not guilty.

Barker: I should. But I have been charged with a conspiracy, and with attending unlawful meetings; I know that I am not guilty, and I wish the public to know that I am not guilty.

The Judge: You are one of those persons who think that the public attend much more to you than they really do.

Barker: The public do attend to me.

The Judge: You are like a man who directed his letters to posterity. What is it you want?

Barker: I want to go home.

The Judge: So do I, and so does the Attorney-General: and he wishes to send you home.

Barker: But I wish to be tried, and to go home equally as free as you.

The Judge: Unless you are tried and convicted, I shall consider you as innocent. What will you do?

Barker: I shall do nothing that I am not constrained to do.

The Attorney-General: I know what his object is. He is the editor and publisher of the *People's Almanac*.

Barker: I have been greatly injured my lord.

Mr. Matthews: I had hoped that there would be a general amnesty, and that all the defendants would avail themselves of it.

The Attorney-General: And so had I.

Barker: I want a free and untrammelled discharge.

The Attorney-General: The fact is, that I want to stop the publication of that blasphemous work, and I can't do that if he will not enter into his recognisances. If he persists in refusing, I must apply for a postponement of the trial.

Mr. Matthews: I don't see that I can do any more.

The Attorney-General: Then I shall enter a *nolle prosequi*, and I hope his friends will tell him the consequences of this. I can't allow that blasphemous publication to go on.

The Judge: Then you can go home, Mr. Barker. The Attorney-General refuses to go to trial, because he does not wish to bore me with the same case over again.

Barker: No; he enters a *nolle prosequi*, because he knows he has no case against me.

The Attorney-General: Don't be too sure of that. Mr. Barker then left the dock.

From the Glasgow (Scotland) Examiner and Times.

MEMOIR OF GENERAL CAVAIGNAC.

Eugene Cavaignac, whose name has been so much mixed up with the late French Revolution, was born at Paris, December 15th, 1802, and is, consequently, forty-six years of age. His father, who belonged to an old family in Gascony, filled the office of advocate to the Parliament at Tholouse, afterwards became an active member of the National Convention, where he voted for the death of Louis Sixteenth. During the republic he was employed by the Convention in various important services, for which he was raised to the rank of General. In the year 1806 he was summoned to Naples by Joseph Bonaparte, and remained in the service of that monarch and of his successor, Murat, until he was recalled to Paris by a decree of Napoleon, which outlawed all Frenchmen holding office at Naples. On Napoleon's return from the Island of Elba, in March, 1815, he was appointed prefect of the Somme Department, but, ere he could take possession of his post, he was deprived of it by the second restoration. Louis Eighteenth having decreed that all who had been members of the famous Convention which declared that royalty had ceased in France and that the country was a republic, or who had been, in any way, accessory to the death of Louis Sixteenth, should be expelled France, he fled to Brussels, where he died in 1829.

Eugene Cavaignac, the subject of our present notice, pursued his early studies at the college of St. Barbe, after leaving which he spent several years at the the Polytechnic School, where he finished his military education. In 1828, France and England being at that time engaged in the settlement of the affairs of Greece, he requested to be employed in the expedition sent by France to coöperate with England in surpressing the barbarities committed by the Turks in that country. After the battle of Navarino had decided the fate of Greece, Captain Cavaignac was employed as an engineer in taking possession of some fortresses which it was thought necessary to secure, in order to complete the independence of the new kingdom of Greece. It was in this classic land that Captain Cavaignac had first an opportunity of seeing real war. On the return of the army to France, in the early part of the year 1830, Captain Cavaignac was stationed at Arras, and received a commission as full captain. In July, in that year, during the three days, Captain Cavaignac, and the men in his company in the 2nd Regiment of Engineers, were among the foremost to range themselves on the side of the people, and to proclaim their attachment to liberty. The known republican principles of Captain Cavaignac, and his relationship to Godefroi Cavaignac, at that time the popular editor of the *Tribune* a democratical newspaper, pointed out that officer as a fit person to command the volunteers from Arras; he was accordingly appointed their leader. The arrangements made in Paris, by which Louis Philippe became King of the French, rendered the advance of Captain Cavaignac's party to Paris unnecessary.—The men in his company, however, had the satisfaction of ascertaining that their captain, though a strict disciplinarian, was prepared to defend with his sword the rights of a Frenchman, should circumstances require him to act. On the evening before the final arrangements were made as to the government that was to be adopted in France, his brother Godefroi, and other young republicans, at the request of Louis Philippe, had an interview with the latter, at his house, in the Palais Royal. After a lengthened conversation on the state of affairs, Louis Philippe stated his own opinion to be, that a republic was unsuited to France in her present situation. He then attacked the principles of the leaders of the National Convention in former times. "You forget, sir," said Godefroi, sternly, "that my father was a member of that body." "And mine, too, sir," returned the crafty prince, "and I never knew a more respectable man." Godefroi and his republican friends, who had been engaged during three days at the barricades, in fighting for the cause of the people, took leave of Louis Philippe, much dissatisfied with the various opinions the future monarch expressed. A few days later, Louis Philippe was declared King of the French. Godefroi and Eugene Cavaignac were among the earliest to discover, and to avow in public, how little the friends of good government had in reality gained by the revolution of July. Godefroi had at this time earned a well-merited reputation by his various contributions to the *Tribune*, the *Reform*, and the *National* newspapers. Enthusiastic in his attachment to republican principles, his articles showed great originality of thought, an intimate acquaintance with the best writers on political subjects, and above all, a love of order, of justice, and of enlightened liberty. With the impetuous spirit of youth, however he was not content to enforce his political opinions merely with his pen, but held himself in readiness to use force in resisting the new government, should his duty to his country require him so to do. With this view, he and other ardent republicans enlisted themselves in the Artillery of the National Guard of Paris, in order that that powerful weapon of destruction might be on the side of the people, in case their liberties should be attacked by the ministry in power. A knowledge that Godefroi Cavaignac, and his republican friends, had taken this step, gave great umbrage to Louis Philippe. The King, unwisely, took the opportunity of some disturbances which occurred on the occasion of the trial of the ex-ministers of Charles X. to bring Godefroi and other republicans to trial, on pretence of their having been engaged in an attempted insurrection; but in reality, for their attachment to the cause of Republicanism. This trial, which caused great excitement in France, ended in a verdict of not guilty. Various political clubs were now formed in all parts of the country, with the view of opposing the policy of Casimer Perrier (the unpopular minister of Louis Philippe), and of putting down the party of reaction. A national association was formed by M. Dernez, at Metz, in 1831, ostensibly with the view of preventing the return of the elder branch of the Bourbons to France, but, in reality, to check the proceedings of Louis Philippe. Captain Cavaignac was a member of this association. The Government dismissed, from public employment, all members of these clubs, and placed on temporary half-pay all military officers who were connected with them. He, consequently, was obliged to retire from active service for a short time. During this temporary leisure, he was able to make himself acquainted with the plans of his brother Godefroi, and of the other leading liberals. Captain Cavaignac, however, soon became tired of a life of inaction, in Paris, and at length obtained his reinstatement in active military service.

The next remarkable epoch in the career of General Cavaignac was his campaign in Algeria. At the close of 1847, the Emir Abd-el-Kader (after a gallant struggle during fourteen years) submitted to the power of France; and, relying on the plighted word of his conquerors, surrendered himself a prisoner of war. The Arab inhabitants of the whole of Algeria having lost their chieftain, found it useless to contend any longer against the skill of the French invader. Cavaignac was engaged in all the military operations that led to the surrender of Abd-el-Kader. The command of the whole of the Province of Oran was now conferred upon him; and the labours of war having ceased, he turned his attention with success to the civil government of that province. He was at Oran at the outbreak of the French Revolution in February, 1848; and there he received intelligence, on March 2, that Louis Philippe had ceased to be King of the French. Cavaignac immediately proclaimed this important event, and declared that all must pay obedience to the newly-constituted republican authorities. The Provisional Government of the French Republic forwarded to him a commission as General of Division in the army, and, at the same time, appointed him Governor General of Algeria; he, consequently, left Oran, and arrived at Algiers on March 10, to take possession of this high office.

He was at Algiers when the Assembly met, on the 7th of May; and when an executive commission was appointed to carry on the government of France, he quitted his government, and came to Paris to attend to his duties as deputy for the lot. He arrived in Paris a few days after the criminal attempt of the red republicans, on the 15th May, to overawe the deliberations of the National Assembly. The executive commission gave him the appointment of Minister of War, which he did not now refuse; and, on the 23d of May, the President of the National Assembly confided to him the command of the troops, whose duty it was to guard the Assembly. The part taken by Cavaignac, in repressing the insurrection, in Paris, at the latter end of June, is now a matter of European history.—Without discussing the question as to whether wiser precautions might not have been taken, by the executive commission, to prevent the outbreak of that sanguinary struggle, there can be no doubt that his conduct, in those days of terror, his unflinching bravery and his great coolness, amid the fire of the barricades, as well as the prudent military measures he took after the insurrection had broken out, evinced consummate judgment, and saved civilised Paris from the horrors of anarchy and confusion. General Cavaignac, on the third day of the insurrection, was appointed chief of the executive power of France, and was invested, by the National Assembly, with dictatorial powers.

Such is a slight sketch of the leading events in the life of the man best fitted to undertake the grave responsibilities, and fulfil the important duties of first magistrate of the French Republic, and who has been rejected for the nephew of Napoleon. What course General Cavaignac may take now, it is impossible to predict; but no one can doubt that he is destined to play an important part in the future history of France.

CHATEAUBRIAND AT NIAGARA.—I have seen the Alpine cascades with their chamois, the Pyrenean with their isarus; I did not go as far up the hill as its cataracts, which are now known to be only rapids; I do not speak of the variegated columns of Terni and Tivoli, elegant lines of ruins, or subjects for the poet's song—*et præceps Anio ac Tiberni lucus*—"the rapid Anio and the sacred grove of Tibur;" Niagara effaces them all. I was contemplating the cataract revealed to the Old World, not by insignificant travellers like myself, but by missionaries, who, seeking God in these solitudes, threw themselves on their knees at the sight of some wonder of nature, and received martyrdom while chaunting their hymn of admiration. Our priests greeted the natural wonders of America, and consecrated them with their blood; our soldiers have applauded at the ruins of Thebes, and presented arms in Andalusia; the whole genius of France lies in the double militia of her camps and her altars. I had my bridle twisted round my arms; a rattlesnake moved in the thicket; and my horse, startled at the noise, reared and backed towards the fall. I could not free my arm, and the horse becoming more and more unmanageable, dragged me after him; his fore feet were already over the edge; hanging on the very verge of the abyss, he kept himself from falling solely by the muscular strength of his back; I gave myself up for lost; when suddenly the animal, astonished at his new danger, made a great effort and regained his footing by a quick turn. Had I lost my life amidst the Canadian woods, would my soul have carried with it to the Supreme tribunal, the sacrifices, the good works, and virtues of the Father Jogues and Lallemand, or a burden of useless days and miserable chimeras? This was not the only danger which I incurred at Niagara. A ladder of bind-weed enabled the natives to descend into the lower basin, but this was now broken. Wishing to see the cataract from below, I ventured, notwithstanding the representations of my guide, to descend the side of an almost conical rock. The water roared and boiled below me, but my head remained steady, and I succeeded in descending about forty feet; but here the bare perpendicular rock offered nothing to which I could cling; I remained hanging by one hand to the last tree-root, feeling my fingers relax their grasp with the weight of my body; few men have in the course of their lives passed two minutes such as those I now passed; at length my hand lost its hold, and I fell; by extraordinary good fortune, I found myself on the ledge of a rock on which I was much more likely to have been dashed to pieces; I did not feel much hurt; I was within half a foot of the chasm, and yet had not fallen into it; but when the cold and damp began to chill me, I found that I had not escaped so easily as I imagined; my left arm was broken above the elbow.—My guide, who was watching me from above, and to whom I made signals of distress, hastened in search of some Indians; they pulled me up with ropes by an otter-path, and carried me to their village. It was merely a simple fracture,—and two splints, a bandage, and a sling sufficed for my cure. *Memoirs of Chateaubriand.*

BERNER'S STREET HOAX.—"But the most inexcusable and most mischievous—far more so, probably, in the event than its contrivers anticipated—of all these youthful pranks was the gigantic 'Berner-street Hoax,' perpetrated in 1809. Not merely, in this case, were the comforts of a single family suspended, or a few moveables demolished, but a quarter of the town was disturbed—a whole street was thrown into a state of uproar, which lasted from morning till night—hundreds of individuals, servants, artisans, tradesmen, great and small, from all parts of London, professional men of every class, not to speak of princes, potentates, and nobles of high degree, swelled the catalogue of victims; the police were employed to trace out the delinquents; rewards were offered for their apprehension. Neither the 'Cock Lane Ghost,' nor the Cato-street conspiracy, produced a greater amount of popular excitement, or furnished a more abundant crop of 'latest particulars.' A previous trick of the kind had been played, on a smaller scale, upon an unfortunate Quaker, by Hook alone, and the success which attended it probably led to a more complete development of the idea. On this occasion, however, the confederates, Mr. H—— and Mrs. ——, a celebrated actress still alive, were called into council; six weeks were spent in preparation, during which time about four thousand letters were dispatched, all, under various pretences, inviting the several recipients to call on a certain day at the house of a Mrs. Tottenham, a lady of property, residing at No. 54, Berners-street, and who had, on some account, fallen under the displeasure of this formidable trio.

"Scarce had the eventful morning began to break, ere the neighbourhood resounded with the cries of 'sweep,' uttered in every variety of tone, and proceeding from crowds of sooty urchins and their masters, who had assembled by five o'clock beneath the windows of the devoted No. 54. In the midst of the wrangling of the rival professors, and protestations of the repudiating housemaid, heavy wagons laden with chaldrons of coals from the different wharves, came rumbling up the street, blockading the thoroughfare, impeding one another, crushing and struggling to reach the same goal, amid a hurricane of imprecations from the respective *conducteurs*. Now among the gathering crowd, cleanly, cook-like men were to be seen, cautiously making their way, each with a massive wedding-cake under his arm; tailors, boot-makers, upholsters, undertakers with coffins, draymen with beer-barrels, &c. succeeded in shoals, and long before the cumbrous coal-wagons were enabled to move off, about a dozen travelling chariots and four, all ready for the reception of as many 'happy pairs,' came dashing up to the spot. Medical men with instruments for the amputation of limbs, attorneys prepared to cut off entails, clergymen summoned to minister to the mind, and artists engaged to portray the features of the body, unable to draw near in vehicles, plunged manfully into the mob. Noon came, and with it about forty fishmongers, bearing forty 'cod and lobsters,' as many butchers, with an equal number of legs of mutton, and as the confusion reached its height, and the uproar became terrific, and the consternation of the poor old lady grew to be bordering on temporary insanity, up drove the great Lord Mayor himself—state-carriage, cocked hats, silk stocking, bag wigs and all, to the intense gratification of Hook and his two associates, who, snugly ensconed in an apartment opposite, were witnessing the triumph of their scheme.

"All this, perhaps, was comparatively commonplace, and within the range of a mediocre 'joker of jokes.' There were features, however, in the Berners-street hoax, independently of its originality, which distinguished it for wit and *méchanceté*, far above any of the numberless imitations to which it gave rise. Every family, it is said, has its secret, some point tender to the touch, some circumstance desirable to be suppressed; according to the proverb, 'there is a skeleton in every house,' and, as a matter of course, the more eminent and conspicuous the master of the house, the more busy are mens' tongues with his private affairs, and the more likely are they to get scent of any concealed subject of annoyance. Completely familiar with London gossip, and by no means scrupulous in the use of any information he might possess, Hook addressed a variety of persons of consideration, taking care to introduce allusion to some peculiar point sure of attracting attention, and invariably closing with an invitation to No. 54, Berners-street. Certain revelations to be made respecting a complicated system of fraud pursued at the Bank of England, brought the Governor of that establishment, a similar device was employed to allure the Chairman of the East India Company, while the Duke of Gloucester started off with his equerry to receive a communication from a dying woman, formerly a confidential attendant on his royal highness's mother. His were the royal liveries conspicuous on the occasion, the Duke of York was not, we have reason to believe, included in the hoax.

"The consequences of this affair threatened to be serious, many of the beguiled tradesmen and others, who had suffered in person or in purse, took active measures towards bringing the charge home to the principal offender, who was pretty generally suspected. Such, however, was the precaution that had been observed, that the attempt proved fruitless, and the inquiry fell to the ground, and Theodore Hook, after a temporary visit to the country, returned unmolested, and more famous than ever, to his usual occupations."—[*Memoir of Theodore Hook.*

PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE UNDER DIFFICULTIES.—We knew a hairdresser, at Witham, in Essex, who, though a labourer for his daily bread at a penny per chin and two pence per poll, yet had acquired a deep knowledge of entomology, and had one of the finest collections of English insects ever gathered together by one man's unaided exertions. We knew also James Lackington, when he was the most extensive bookseller in Europe; yet he had once been a poor shoemaker! From extreme want, he raised himself to the wealth and happiness he afterwards enjoyed. Inflexible integrity, a love of learning, and living abstemiously, were the means he employed thus honourably to elevate himself; and he found in his wife a worthy helpmate. However narrow their means, they always made them suffice; and he has left among his "Confessions" the statement that in their hours of privation they have sustained one another by singing together these lines by Dr. Cotton:—

"Our portion is not large, indeed,
But then, how little do we need,
For natures calls are few;
In this the art of living lies,
To want no more they may suffice,
And make that little do."

We might swell our catalogue to many pages with the mere names of those who have thus struggled to eminence through difficulties, but we will merely enumerate a few of our contemporaries, at least men of the present century. Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, was a cobbler's apprentice; Bloomfield the poet, and Mortimer, the painter, had been farming labourers; Emerson, the mathematician, thatched his own cottage; and the mother of Holcroft, the play-writer, kept a greenstall and sold oysters.—*Cottage Gardener.*

TETTERBY'S BABY.—"It was a very Moloch of a baby on whose insatiate altar the whole existence of this particular young brother was offered up a daily sacrifice. Its personality may be said to have consited in its never being quiet, in any one place, for five consecutive minutes, and never going to sleep when desired. 'Tetterby's baby' was as well known in the neighbourhood as the postman or the post-boy. It roved from door-step to door-step in the arms of little Johnny Tetterby, and lagged heavily at the rear of troops of juveniles who followed the Tumblers or the Monkey, and came up all on one side, a little too late for everything that was attractive, from Monday morning until Saturday night. Wherever childhood congregated to play, there was little Moloch making Johnny fag and toil. Whenever Johnny desired to stay, little Moloch became fractious, and would not remain Whenever Johnny wanted to go out, Moloch was asleep, and must be watched. Whenever Johnny wanted to stay at home, Moloch was awake, and must be taken out. Yet Johny was verily persuaded that it was a faultless baby, without its peer in the realm of England, and was quite content to catch meek glimpses of things in general from behind its skirts, or over its limp flagging bonnet, and go staggering about with it like a very little porter with a very large parcel which was not directed to anybody, and could never be delivered anywhere.

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"It was a peculiarity of this baby to be always cutting teeth. Whether they never came, or whether they came and went away again, is not in evidence; but it had certainly cut enough on the showing of Mrs Tetterby, to make a handsome dental provision for the sign of the Bull and Mouth. All sorts of objects were impressed for the rubbing of its gums, notwithstanding that it always carried, dangling at its waist (which was immediately under its chin), a bone ring, large enough to have represented the rosary of a young nun. Knife-handles umbrella-tops, the heads of walking-sticks selected from the stock, the fingers of the family in general, but especially of Johnny, nutmeg-graters crusts, and handles of doors, and the cool knobs on the tops of pokers, were among the commonest instruments indiscriminately applied for this baby's relief. The amount of electricity that must have been rubbed out of it in a week is not to be calculated. Still Mrs. Tetterby always said, 'it was coming through, and then the child would be herself;' and still it never did come through, and the child continued to be somebody else."—*The Haunted Man and the Ghost's Bargain.*

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

A Paris caricature represents Louis Philippe receiving a kick from Lamartine, who is receiving one from Cavaignac, who is in turn kicked by Louis Napoleon; then comes a scroll, "To be continued."

At the sale of the late Mr. C. Hodges' autographs this week, a letter written by Mary Queen of Scots was sold for £4 10s. and one of Molière's autographs, the only one ever sold by auction in this country, realised £12 10s.

Mr. G. G. White writes in the *Lancet*: "By inserting the ends of the fingers within the ears, or by covering them with the hands, or any other part of the person, we perceive a rumbling sound; this sound proceeds from circulation throughout the system, and is conducted to the hearing through the fingers or the part applied."

LOUIS NAPOLEON'S LIVERY.—His servants' livery is precisely the same as that of the Emperor's—a green coat with gold buttons, black silk stockings, and plush shorts. Owing to the great influence of visitors two days of the week have been fixed upon as reception days.—*Morning Chronicle.*

LOUIS PHILIPPE AND HIS FAMILY.—Louis Philippe and his family have been residing for some time past, for the benefit of their health, after their recent general attack of illness, at the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond. The ex-King has completely recovered his health, but the Queen is still unable to leave her room, though also slowly recovering. The three princes, sons of their ex-Majesties, with their families, are also residing at the Star and Garter. Of late they have had a number of distinguished French visitors, though no formal invitations are sent out. The muster at the dinner table of Louis Philippe usually exceeds thirty, and on some recent occasions covers have been laid for from forty to fifty, including the princes and their families. Nothing could exceed the harmony which prevails in the circle of the royal exiles. Louis Philippe and the Queen are still addressed, not only by the servants and the companions of their exile, but all their visitors, by their former titles of King and Queen. Louis Philippe rides out every day in a one horse chaise a distance of several miles.

ADJUSTING THE MOUTH.—The *London Gazette* contains some important information for the ladies, with regard to the manner of placing their lips when they desire to look amiable, dignified, &c. It says that if a lady would compose her mouth to a bland and serene character, she should, just before entering the room, say *Besom*, and keep the expression into which the mouth subsides until the desired effect upon the company is evident. If, on the other hand, she wishes to assume a distinguished and somewhat noble bearing, not suggestive of sweetness, she should say *Brush*, the result of which is infallible. If she would make her mouth small and pretty, she must say *Flip*, but if the mouth be already small and needs enlarging she must say *Cabbage*. Ladies, when having their daguerreotypes taken, may observe these rules with some advantage.

CHRISTMAS CONUNDRUMS.—The *Gateshead Observer*, in a "Column for Christmas," has the following conundrums:—Why is a kiss, under the misletoe, like Rumour? Because it passes from mouth to mouth.—Why is a blacksmith like a great sinner? Because he has hardened vices.—What city can swim? Cork.—Why is a secret like phosphorus? Because it must be *kept dark*.—Why is the editor of the *Gateshead Observer* like the nine Muses? Because he is much plagued with poets. Why is Prince Louis Napoleon like the reflection of a pawnbroker? Because he is the mere shadow of "my uncle." Why is Death like three months at the treadmill? Because it is the wages of sin.

CLADDAGH FISHERY.—THE FRIENDS.—We have seen, with much pleasure, superior samples of "Galway Bloater," and herrings, smoked whiting, and dried hake, prepared at the new curing house, at the Claddagh, Galway, established by the liberal advance of £500 from the Society of Friends Relief Committee, of London, whose management was undertaken by an efficient committee of gentleman of that town, for the assistance of the poor fishermen of that remarkable and isolated colony, by purchasing the overstock of the local market which vendors did not require. Although it has not been many weeks in operation, yet the effects of increased stimulus in catching, and employment in saving, packing, and selling, is most encouraging; an experienced fishing captain, sent by the Friends from Cornwall, superintends the business, and amongst other useful information has shown how to extract oil (of which the men were in much want of their nets), from the liver of the hake, a thing never known there before.—*Galway Vindicator.*

CURIOUS LAWS OF NEW EPIDEMICS.—The average visitations of new fatal exotics, have been calculated as recurring at each revolution of forty years, and there is none on record which has been in this country less fatal than Asiatic cholera. After the first appearance of an exotic epidemic, failing of naturalisation, it has a tendency to repeat its visit once in each revolution of sixteen years. Thus the sweating sickness, which was said to have been brought over along with the army of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. first appeared at Milford Haven in the year 1483, when, meeting with no apt epidemical condition, it soon disappeared. It repeated its visitation under epidemic influence in 1485; and it reappeared altogether five times, with an average interspace of sixteen years; not until its fourth visitation reaching the court, and proving mortal to many of the courtiers in six hours, Henry VIII. owing his emergence from a severe attack to the well-known vigour of his constitution. At its fifth and last return, or sixth visit, in 1551, it carried off 120 in a day within the precints of Westminster alone, where the two sons of Charles Brandon, both Dukes of Suffolk, died of it—1551—1485—66 divided by 4—16 1-2,—which agrees with the interspace between the two visits of Asiatic cholera.—*Dr. Collier on Epidemics.*

THE LEAEND OF MERCURIUS—JULIAN THE APOSTATE.—Julian the Apostate, who figures in sacred romances, not merely as a tyrant and persecutor, but as a terrible and potent necromancer, who had sold himself to the Devil, had put his officer Mercurius to death, because of his adhesion to the Christian faith. The story then relates that when Julian led his army against the Persians, and on the eve of the battle in which he perished, St. Basil the Great was favoured by a miraculous vision. He beheld a woman of resplendent beauty seated on a throne, and around her a great multitude of angels; and she commanded one of them, saying, "Go forthwith, and awaken Mercurius, who sleepeth in the sepulchre, that he may slay Julian the Apostate, that proud blasphemer against me and my son!" And when Basil awoke, he went to the tomb in which Mercurius had been laid not long before, with his armour and weapons by his side; and, to his great astonishment, he found neither the body nor the weapons. But on returning to the place the next day, and again looking into the tomb, he found there the body of Mercurius lying as before; but the lance was stained with blood; "for on the day of battle, when the wicked Emperor was at the head of his army, an unknown warrior, bareheaded, and of a pale and ghastly countenance, was seen mounted on a white charger, which he spurred forward, and brandishing his lance, he pierced Julian through the body, and then vanished as suddenly as he had appeared. And Julian being carried to his tent, he took a handful of the blood which flowed from his wound, and flung it into the air, exclaiming with his last breath, "Thou hast conquered, Galilean! thou hast conquered!" Then the demons received his parting spirit. But Mercurius, having performed the behest of the blessed Virgin, reëntered his tomb, and laid himself down to sleep till the Day of Judgment.—*Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art.*

ICARIA.—The *Times*, in a leading article, gives an account of M. Cabet's settlement of Icaria, in TEXAS.—We extract the portion descriptive of the arrival of the second batch of settlers at the new colony: "There was nothing—not a house, not a cover; nothing but corpses. It was a field of desolation. The air and the water were deadly. Of the 70 who formed the advanced guard, nine were lying dead, and the rest were 'moribund.' The next morning they rebelled against the Janissary, assembled in convention, agreed to dissolve the society, and make the best of their way back again to France. Only three voices were raised against this resolution, but whether those three resolute men still linger in the wilds of Icaria, like the three Gorgons in Scythia, we are not told. The mass immediately commenced its retreat, which seems to have been a terrible affair. Many of their sick were left on the road, and, what the survivors probably felt as much, the rear was obliged to abandon all its luggage in the midst of the prairies. As if in bitter contrast to the purple and fine linen promised by M. Cabet, it is mentioned that whole portmanteaus of shirts and cravats were left at the mercy of the Indians, who we trust, will know how to wear them. Having made good their retreat to the *entrepôt* at Shreveport, and joined the ladies left in a cowshed, they had no alternative but to wait for assistance from France, being absolutely without means. At last five agents came with £1,000 of their money, though the fellows would not own to more than £200. They gave a pitiful £2 to each of the colonists—just enough to carry them to New Orleans, should they wish to return. One of the five agents made off with a great part of the money. The rest, with the the colonists, formed a friendly society, subscribing for the relief of the sick and those out of work. Brute selfishness, however, had extinguished the Icarian sentiment, and such as were already disabled were excluded from the society, and left to live or die. The agents still refused to give any account of the funds, urging M. Cabet's first principle of 'blind confidence.' Some have found their way down to New Orleans, and describe in very grateful terms the kindness they are receiving in the excellent hospitals of that city. While the Icarian leaders, on the principles of fraternity, are refusing not merely assistance, but the satisfaction of a debt, the poor 'sheep,' as they call themselves, are housed and tended by strangers."

BLUM'S LAST LETTER.—The letter written by Robert Blum to his wife an hour before his execution has been published; it is as follows:—

"My dear, good wife,—Farewell! farewell for the time men call eternity, but which will not be so. Bring up our—now only your—children to be honest men, so they will never disgrace their father's name. Sell our little property with the aid of our friends. God and all good men will help you also. All that I feel and would say at this moment escapes me in tears; only once more, then, farewell, my dearest. Consider our children a treasure of which you must make the best use, and honour thus the memory of your faithful husband. Farewell, farewell! Receive the last kisses of your Robert. Vienna, Nov. 1848; five o'clock in the morning. At six all will be over.

"P. S. I had forgotten the rings; on that of our betrothal I press for you a last kiss; my seal ring is for Hans, the watch for Richard, the diamond stud for Ida, the chain for Alfred, as memorials. All the rest divide as you please. They are coming; farewell!"

THE COTTAGE SAW-GIN.—AMERICAN FREE LABOUR COTTON.—When the Manchester Commercial Association were occupied in perfecting a model cottage saw-gin for the use of the ryots of India, they probably had not the remotest idea that the machine would ever be employed in the United States. Circumstances, however, seem likely to concur in bringing about this improbable event. It seems that there are, in the Southern States, a considerable number of small agriculturists who grow cotten by free labour, and that the Anti-Slavery party exhibit great interest in, and do all they can to promote, the success of those men. The free labour cotton is purchased and sent to this country, where it is manufactured into goods, unmixed with any other cotton.—These goods are branded or marked, so as to indicate their character, shipped to the States, and sold there amongst the opponents of Slavery. It unfortunately happens, however, that the small free labour planters have not the means of setting up gin establishments of their own, and they are therefore obliged to send the produce to be cleaned at gin-houses where slaves are employed. This, though unavoidable, is a source of regret to the Anti-Slavery party, inasmuch as it gives to the cotton a taint of Slavery; and a notice of the new cottage saw-gin made here having attracted the attention of certain gentlemen in this country, who are connected with the Anti-Slavery movement, they have been instituting inquiries as to the capabilities of the machine, and its suitability for cleaning American cotton. It is not unlikely, as the machine is adapted for the purpose, and can be manufactured at a small cost, that it may be introduced among the growers of free-labour cotton in the Southern States, and thus obviate the necessity of resorting, even in the slightest degree, to slave labour. Inquiries as to the machine have also been made from settlers at Port